DEFENCE

OF

LORD PIGOT.

DAMNATUS ABSENS.

LONDON,

Printed in the Year MDCCLXXVII.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

ERRATA ET ADDENDA.

WORK.

Page	42	*line*	8	*for* croat	read	*croar* or *crore*
	43		8	*from bottom* Zulpheher		*Zulpheker*
	44		6	*for* Clangad		*Elangad* or *Ylangad*
	54		13	accompts		*accounts*
	81		9	on the		*of the*
	89		19	1766		1776
	91		† *note*	*add* Appendix, I. fol. 48.		
	103		21	*for* coasts		*coast*
	111		15	communities		*communities*
	116		7	firſt		*juſt*
	119		6	*dele* not		
	120		7	clained		*claimed*
	122		3	inhabitonts		*inhabitants*
	177		10	Keſident		*Reſident*
	184	*note l.*	2	is		*his*
	185	*line*	18	not,		*ſo*
	230	*note* (m)		*ſhould be in page* 231		
	243	*line*	18	*for* does appear		*does not appear*
	244		5	third &c. &c. &c.		*&c. &c. &c. third*
	254	*after*	10	*add this note*		

The Commiſſions to Governor Addiſon in 1708, and to Governor Harriſon in 1710, give the negative in expreſs terms to the Governor: what then becomes of this, pretended to be a ſtanding, order of 1702?

268		21	*after* and		add	*neceſſary*
292		23	*for* Commanders		read	*Commander*
316		16	had been a poſt which			*a poſt which had been*
322		*note* (c)	ſubordinate Preſidencies			*ſubordinate ſettlements*
328		*laſt line*	refuſing			*refuting*

MARGINAL NOTES.

Page	73	*for* Pigo	*read*	*Pigot*
	91	1765		1776
	107	ditto		ditto

APPENDIX.

Page	6	*line*	1	*for* An'waro'dean	*read*	*Mohammed Alli*
	10		8	Timaevelly		*Tinnavelly*
	12		7	Decan		*Dubaſh*
	16		No. XIII.	from		*from Governor Floyer to*
	25		11	Nungund a Raur		*Nanzerauz*
		note (o)		carool		*caroor* or *crore*
	27	*line*	3 *from bottom*	Circars		*Soucars* or *Bankers*
	28		5	Zulpahur		*Zulphakur*
	33		25	Phaſby		*Phaſely*
			28	ditto		ditto
			33	ditto		ditto
	34		17	Arnumay		*Arnee may*
	35		10	Clangad		*Elangad*
			27	ditto		ditto
	36		7	Zulpeher		*Zulphakur*
			11	Phaſby		*Phaſely*
			23	Bouchier		*Bourchier*
	37	*laſt line*		Phaſby		*Phaſely*
	38		32	Clangad		*Elangad*
	58		* *note*	Mooſtally		*Mood ally*
	62	*line*	3 *from bottom*	ghec		*ghee*
	71		10	ſuſpicion		*ſuſpenſion*

MARGINAL NOTES.

6	*dele* " An'waro'dean father of"			
11	*for* Tuljanjee	*read*	*Tuljaujee*	
27	1769		1762	
28	No. IX. Lord Pigot		*Preſident and Council of Fort St. George*	

REFERENCES EXPLAINED.

THE titles of many of the Books and Pamphlets, to which reference is made in the following Defence, being long and complex; to avoid frequent repetitions, they have been cited under ſome leading words of their reſpective titles.

Thus,

CASE, means the Caſe of the Preſident or Governor and of the Council of Madraſs, fairly ſtated, with Obſervations and Remarks on the Conduct of both Parties, as well as of Colonel Stuart. Printed for J. Almon, in Piccadily, 1777.

EXTRACT, means Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman at Fort St. George, dated 10th October 1776.

JOURNALS, means firſt Report of the Select Committee—Commons Journals, vol. xxxiii. p. 792 to 944 both incluſive.

LETTER, means Letter to the Court of Directors from Lord Pigot, dated the 15th October, 1776.

NABOB's LETTER, means Letter from Mahommed Ally Khan, Nabob of Arcot, to the Court of Directors. To which is annexed a State of Facts relative to Tanjore, with an Appendix of Original Papers. Printed for T[illegible]ell in the Strand, 1777.

REFERENCES EXPLAINED.

NARRATIVE, means Lord Pigot's Narrative of the late Revolution in the Government of Madraſs, dated the 11th Sept. 1776; to which are added, Notes of Mr. Dalrymple, and a Letter from the New Government at Madraſs to the Directors of the Eaſt India Company, containing their Account of the late Revolution, dated Fort St. George, 24th Sept. 1776.

ORME, means the Hiſtory of the military Tranſactions of the Britiſh Nation in Indoſtan, from the Year 1745, to which is prefixed a Diſſertation on the Eſtabliſhments made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indoſtan. Vol. I. edit. 2. Printed for John Nourſe, 1775.

ORIGINAL PAPERS, mean Original Papers tranſmitted by the Nabob of Arcot to his Agent in Great Britain, comprehending the Tranſactions on the Coaſt, down to the 10th of October, 1776. Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand, 1777.

PAPERS, mean Copies of Papers relative to the Reſtoration of the King of Tanjore; the Arreſt of the Right Honourable George Lord Pigot, and the Removal of his Lordſhip from the Government of Fort St. George, by ſundry Members of the Council, in two vols. Printed in 1777.

SECRET REPORTS, mean Reports from the Committee of Secrecy, appointed to enquire into the State of the Eaſt India Company. Printed in 1772.

SELECT REPORTS, mean Reports from the Committee appointed to enquire into the Nature, State, and Condition of the Eaſt India Company, and of the Britiſh Affairs in the Eaſt Indies. Printed in 1773.

TANJORE

REFERENCES EXPLAINED.

TANJORE PAPERS, mean Original Papers relative to Tanjore; containing all the Letters which paſſed, and the Conferences which were held between his Highneſs the Nabob of Arcot and Lord Pigot, on the Subject of the Reſtoration of Tanjore; together with the material Part of Lord Pigot's laſt Diſpatch to the Eaſt India Company; the Whole connected by a Narrative, and illuſtrated with Notes and Obſervations. Printed for T. Cadell in the Strand, 1777.

N. B. Reference is made to many Papers in the India Houſe. To have printed them all would have ſwollen the volume, already too large, to an enormous bulk. Some of the moſt remarkable are given in the Appendix.

INTRODUCTION.

Heads of enquiry, the ſolution of which *alone* is neceſſary to decide the preſent queſtion.

WHATEVER were the orders which Lord Pigot carried out with Him to Madraſs; whatever were the ends, which the Company propoſed to their Selves in ſending his Lordſhip thither, certain it is, that for the due execution of thoſe orders, for the ſucceſs of thoſe ends, "They depended in no ſmall degree "upon the ſeaſonable exertion of thoſe peculiar abilities, for which "his Lordſhip is ſo juſtly and eminently diſtinguiſhed (*a*)."

At the ſame time, that the Court of Directors pointed out the ends They had in view, "what They wiſhed to have accom-"pliſhed," "They ſuggeſted ſuch means, as appeared to them "moſt likely to be effectual for obtaining the ends propoſed (*a*)."

What then are the ends which the Company propoſed; what is that, which They wiſhed to have accompliſhed? What the means which the Company ſuggeſted for obtaining thoſe ends?

Did Lord Pigot purſue thoſe ends and adopt thoſe means?

In the purſuit of thoſe ends, was Lord Pigot guilty of any, and what illegal exertion of power?

(*a*) Theſe are the very words of the Company in their Inſtructions. See Papers, vol. i. fol. 20.

Did the men who oppoſed the meaſures adopted by Lord Pigot, approach nearer to the ends propoſed by the Company, adopt meaſures more conformable to the means ſuggeſted by the Company?

Has the ſelf-created Council of Madraſs been guilty of any, and what intemperate acts of tyranny and oppreſſion?

Conſequence of having introduced other matter foreign to the preſent queſtion.

. Theſe ſeem to be the only heads of enquiry which would occur to a plain man, who ſhould ſit down to examine the diſputes between Lord Pigot and his Council. And to theſe heads, had the enemies of Lord Pigot underſtood their own intereſt, they would moſt certainly have confined their ſelves. The queſtion then might have been conſidered as a diſpute between individuals. But, eager to collect every thing which could tend to inflame the minds of the public againſt Lord Pigot, and againſt the unfortunate Prince whom it was his duty to reſtore, They have ſet us upon making more extenſive reſearches. In the waywardneſs of their cunning, and the blindneſs of their zeal, they have forced upon our view a long concerted plan of diſobedience to the orders of the Company, and of oppoſition to the intereſts of the nation: They have compelled us to obſerve, that this is not a private diſpute, in which the intereſts of the individual members of the Council at Madraſs, are alone at ſtake; but a public cauſe, on the event of which depend the fate of all our poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Coromandel; the exiſtence, perhaps, of the Eaſt India Company; and in conſequence, the ſtability of our public credit.

Ridiculous arguments alledged by the enemies of Lord Pigot.

Among the arguments, to which the enemies of Lord Pigot have deſcended, ſome are ſo thoroughly ridiculous, that had they been urged with leſs warmth, or applied with leſs art, They would have merited no anſwer whatever.

Cavils about the meaning of the term *Rajah*;

In a queſtion of this magnitude, could it have been conceived, that men would have deſcended to puerile criticiſms on words! Yet

Yet even to this reſource, low as it is, have the enemies of Lord Pigot been driven. The meaning of the term *Rajah* has been warmly and ſeriouſly debated: the rendering of that term, by the term *King*, has been held out by the Nabob and his Agent, as an artifice, adopted by Lord Pigot, to dignify a man whom he meant to favour. It is aſſerted, that the title of King was for the firſt time conferred on the Rajah in the treaty of 1762; and the Rajah has been called in deriſion—"*The King of Lord Pigot* (*b*)."

Could any thing ſo childiſh deſerve a ſerious anſwer, it might be proved from authority, equal at leaſt to that of the Eaſtern Agent, that *King* is the uſual tranſlation of *Rajah* (*c*). But were it not, Lord Pigot would ſurely have been juſtified in adopting the ſtile of his Employers: in all their letters, in all their diſpatches, the Rajah is ſtiled by the Directors *King of Tanjore*.

which is uſually rendered by the term *King*.

With the ſame purpoſe of injuring Lord Pigot by placing the Rajah in a contemptible point of view, the founder of the Rajah's family is repreſented as a ſlave, an adventurer: and his acquiſition of the kingdom as an uſurpation.

Calumnies againſt the founder of the Rajah's family; and the Rajah's title to the throne.

But what is it to Lord Pigot; what is it to the preſent queſtion, by whom, or upon whom, the kingdom of Tanjore was firſt beſtowed? Lord Pigot had nothing to do with the manuſcript records of the Nabob (*d*). Be it that the anceſtors of Tuljaujee were

His family as good at leaſt, as that of the Nabob.

(*b*) See the Nabob's Letter, fol. 21. Tanjore Papers, fol. xiii.

(*c*) "Theſe Indian Princes are called Rajahs, that is *Kings*." "The *Kings* of "Myſore and *Tanjore* poſſeſs dominions almoſt as large as the Kings of Pruſſia or "Portugal." Orme, p. 25.

"We do not find, that the Nabobs of Arcot have ever extended their authority "beyond *the borders of the kingdoms* of Tritchinopoly, *Tanjore*, and Myſore to the "ſouth." Ib. p. 37. "The *Kingdoms* of Tritchinopoly and Tanjore, though "tributary to the Great Mogul, were each of them governed by their own "Princes." Ib. fol. 38.

(*d*) See Nabob's Letter, fol. 20.

ſlaves of the Royals, Morattoe plunderers, deſcendants of Echogee: does he therefore ſtand in a leſs reſpectable light than the Nabob? What were his anceſtors? Plunderers of another name, ſlaves of Sultan Baber, fifth from Timur-bec (*e*). Be it that the Rajah holds his kingdom under a grant of Aureng-Zebe: is not a grant of Aureng-Zebe as reſpectable as a grant of Sultan Baber (*f*)?

And his title to his throne more honourable than that of the Nabob to his poſſeſſions.

If indeed the mode of acquiring dominion had been the queſtion Lord Pigot was to decide; if his conduct were to have been influenced by this conſideration; to whom would the protection of the Company have been extended?

Pertaub Sing, father of the preſent Rajah, called to the throne by the concurrent voice of the principal men of the kingdom.

How did Pertaub Sing, father of the preſent Rajah, obtain the kingdom of Tanjore? He was called to it by the concurrent voice of the principal men of the kingdom, which was reduced to the brink of ruin by the weak adminiſtration of his predeceſſor Saujohee (*g*). Yet this man is branded by the Nabob and his agents, with the infamous title of Uſurper. As well might our glorious Deliverer; as well might the Princes of the Houſe of Hanover, be branded with the name of Uſurpers: they too were called to the throne by the concurrent voice of the principal men of the kingdom.

An'waro'dean, father of the preſent Nabob, obtained the Nabobſhip by perfidy and aſſaſſination.

And how did An'waro'dean Chan, father of the preſent Nabob, obtain the Nabobſhip of Arcot? By the vile aſſaſſination of his ward, of Seid Mohammed, the rightful Nabob. An aſſaſſination, the guilt and infamy of which were heightened by every circumſtance that could render it moſt horrible and odious. The aſſaſſin was Regent of the kingdom; was the appointed *Guardian and Protector* of Seid Mohammed. In the preſence of that Guardian and Protector the unfortunate Prince was aſſaſſinated; at a wedding

(*e*) Ib. fol. 21. 17.
(*f*) Ib. fol. 22.
(*g*) See Orme, fol. 107, 108.

feaſt;

feaſt; at the moment he was paying an extraordinary mark of reſpect and attention to that appointed Guardian and Protector (*h*).

But theſe, like the preceding, were conſiderations, with which Lord Pigot had nothing to do. Enough was it for him to know, that Tanjore had been guarrantied by his employers, to the deſcendants of Pertaub Sing, father of Tuljaujee.

But with theſe conſiderations Lord Pigot had nothing to do.

Nor is this all—To captivate the ear of the people, the perſonal vices of the Rajah, his political incapacity, his voluptuouſneſs, are held out to public deteſtation. On the illegitimacy of his father, who is ſignificantly called a *natural* ſon, a *baſtard* (*i*): on the number of his wives, on the number of his concubines, the wily agent dilates with an air of triumph.

Calumnies againſt the illegitimacy, the political incapacity, and voluptuouſneſs of the Rajah.

In the chaſte purlieus of Leadenhall-ſtreet, this may work wonders; but muſt be heard with contempt by a man, who reflects, that many wives, and many concubines are allowed, are recommended by the laws and cuſtoms of the Eaſt: that there, the diſtinction between *natural* and *legitimate* children is, by conſequence, unknown: that children born of *inferior* (*k*), and children born of *ſuperior* wives, are equally legitimate. The wiſe King Solomon was the *natural* ſon of the *good* King David, and appointed a natural ſon to ſucceed him. The wiſe King Solomon had his wives and his concubines.

Sons born of inferior wives as legitimate as ſons born of ſuperior wives.

With a diſingenuity that betrays the weakneſs of their cauſe, the conduct of the Rajah is meaſured by the ſtandard of Engliſh manners; and in a country where polygamy is allowed, and where the ſuperintendence of the Women of the Prince is a poſt of the higheſt

Conſulting his Barrawar, urged as a proof of his political incapacity.

(*h*) See Orme, fol. 55—60.

(*i*) See Nabob's Letter, fol. 22. Tanjore Papers, fol. 9.

(*k*) See Orme, fol. 108. Pertaub Sing was the ſon of an inferior wife of Serbojee.

truſt

truſt and honour, it is urged as a proof of the Rajah's political incapacity, it is imputed to Him as a crime, that his Barrawar is conſulted in matters of government; that his Barrawar recommended his own ſiſter to be one of the inferior wives of his Prince (*l*).

Which is conformable to the cuſtoms of the Eaſt.

Eaſy would it be, were it indeed of any importance in the preſent cauſe, to anſwer the objection: an objection after all, which can weigh only with the man who is a total ſtranger to the cuſtoms and the manners of the Eaſt. It would be ſufficient to aſk—was it ever imputed as a crime to the Emperor of the Othmans, that his Kiſlar-Aga is conſulted in matters of government; is *ex officio*, the patron of all eccleſiaſtical preferments? Would it be imputed as a crime, that the Sultan took a ſiſter of the Kiſlar-Aga to be one of his inferior wives (*m*)?

The Rajah is charged with being voluptuous.

But the Rajah is voluptuous—be it ſo—better after all would it be for this country; better for the intereſts of the Eaſt India Company, that not Tanjore alone, but all the Carnatic, ſhould be poſſeſſed by an indolent and voluptuous Prince, than governed by a man of ſo daring and intriguing a ſpirit as the Nabob of Arcot.

At other times repreſented a daring and intriguing.

Yet when it ſuits their purpoſe, this Rajah riſes from the voluptuous couch; ſhakes off his indolence, becomes a Machiavel in politics, a Marlborough in the field: he intrigues with Hyder Ally Khan; directs the motions of Trimbeck Row; governs the Councils of the Dutch and of the Danes; levies troops of his own; invades the Marawar; ravages the Carnatic; and keeps the potent Nabob, and his yet more potent protectors, in a ſtate of fearful ſuſpence *.

(*l*) See Nabob's Letter, fol. 34.

(*m*) *Kiſlar-Aga*, and *Barrawar* ſignify, not *Pimps*, as the Agent ſignificantly tranſlates the term, but *Superintendents of the Women*.

* See Nabob's Letter, and Tanjore Papers, paſſim.

Let

Let the opponents of Lord Pigot reconcile their own contradictions, as they can; the character of the Rajah was nothing to him; the Rajah—be his character what it may, be he indolent and voluptuous, or bold and intriguing—the employers of Lord Pigot had ordered Lord Pigot to reſtore.

But Lord Pigot had nothing to do with the character of the Rajah,

Artifices like theſe, may be uſeful to certain cauſes; they cannot be juſtified, how far they can be excuſed, by the ſpirit of party, let others judge. To us no artifice is wanting. Who pleads the cauſe of truth, of injured innocence and honour, has only to ſubmit a plain unvarniſhed tale to the public.

Nor need his advocates have recourſe to artifices.

Leaving arguments like theſe, the enemies of Lord Pigot riſe to ſomething higher; ſomething more worthy of ſerious notice. They tell us—That the treaty of 1762 did not extend to the preſent Rajah—That, if it did extend to him, it has ſince been annulled by ſucceeding treaties—That the ceſſion of Tanjore to the Nabob was approved by his Majeſty—That the reſtoration of the Rajah is contrary to his aſſurances, and to the treaty of Paris—That it was beſides impolitic to reſtore him; becauſe we thereby riſked the affections of the Nabob, who has ever been ſo ſteadily attached to the intereſts of the Engliſh—And laſtly, that the political ſtate of the Carnatic was concealed from the Company, when they iſſued their orders for reſtoring the Rajah to the throne of his anceſtors.

Other more ſerious objections alleged againſt the reſtoration of the Rajah.

To all theſe objections, one general anſwer would ſuffice—For the juſtice, for the policy of the Reſtoration he was not to anſwer. It was the Court of Directors; it was the Company, who alone were reſponſible for them. Lord Pigot is to anſwer for nothing more than the mode by which he carried that meaſure, be it good, or bad, into execution.

To which one general anſwer might be given, That Lord Pigot had nothing to do with them.

Let

Objections examined.

Let us, however, examine theſe objections.

1 Objection. The treaty of 1762 did not extend to the preſent Rajah, becauſe Tanjore is a fief.

The treaty of 1762, we are told, did not extend to the preſent Rajah. Not only it is contended, that the preſent Rajah Tuljaujee cannot, from the nature of the feudal ſyſtem in India, be included in a guaranty given to his father the Rajah Pertaub Sing; but even that "*it never entered into the mind of Pertaub Sing*," that his ſon could be included in it: as the *election* of the ſon was eventual, depending on the favour of his feudal lord (*n*).

Anſwer. Tanjore *not* a fief.

It happens, that the fact aſſumed is not true. Tanjore is not a fief; it is an hereditary kingdom (*o*). It is ſubject, indeed, by convention, to the payment of a certain tribute to the Emperor of Delhi; which tribute is to be collected by the Nabob of Arcot. But a tributary kingdom is not, as ſuch, a fief. By a treaty, which Michael, predeceſſor of John Sobieſki, made with the Turks, the Poles were to pay a tribute to the Porte. Did any man ever contend, that Poland became by that treaty a fief of the empire of the Othmans?

Were it a fief, it would not follow, that the treaty did not extend to him.

But, were it true, that Tanjore was a fief, dependent on the emperor of Delhi, or even on the Nabob of Arcot, what was this to Lord Pigot? Was it for Him to ſearch into the feudal ſyſtem of Indoſtan? Was it for Him to decide, whether the grants of a feudal Lord were, or were not, confined to the life of the Vaſſal? Whether the Lord, on the death of a Vaſſal, had, or had not, the *power of diſpoſal*; whether the election was, or was not, a mere *admiſſion* of the Heir, on certain conditions, on certain preſents, paid for the *Redemption* or *Renovation* of the fief? Theſe were points, on which the lawyers of Indoſtan might deſcant at their leiſure. Sufficient was it for Lord Pigot to know, what his em-

(*n*) See Nabob's Letter, fol. 27.

(*o*) Pertaub Sing, father of the preſent Rajah, was the eighth in ſucceſſion in the ſame family—Kings of Tanjore. See Orme, fol. 108.

ployers

ployers had decided: and well he knew, that not only had it *entered into the mind of Pertaub Sing*, but into the minds of his employers, but into the mind of the Nabob, that the treaty *was perpetual*; that the guaranty was a guaranty, not of the kingdom to the *individual perſon* of Pertaub Sing but, of the *ſucceſſion to that kingdom to the family of Pertaub Sing* *.

2 Objection. The treaty of 1762 annulled by the treaties of 1769 and 1771.

It has been contended, that this treaty of 1762, ſuppoſing it ever to have extended beyond the life of Pertaub Sing, was now annulled by ſubſequent treaties, made in the years 1769 and 1771.

Anſwer.

But by which of theſe treaties was the treaty of 1762 annulled?

Not by the treaty of 1769.

Was it by that of 1769? By this treaty another war was determined: to this treaty another power, Hyder Ally, was one of the principal contracting parties. What effect can this treaty have then on the treaty of 1762? If it indeed had any effect, it was to ratify, to confirm it: for it includes the Rajah of Tanjore, as one, who had *always been a friend to the Carnatic*. Is it this recognition, which implies a revocation of thoſe rights, to which, as a friend of the Carnatic, the Rajah was entitled?

Nor by that of 1771.

Was it by the treaty of 1771? But to this treaty the Company were not contracting parties. Could it therefore operate to annul a treaty, to which the Company were contracting parties?—So far as it did operate, it moſt ſtrongly confirmed the treaty of 1762. For by the treaty of 1771, it was ſtipulated that a certain ſum ſhould be paid by the Rajah as an indemnification for the paſt neglect, real or pretended, of the conditions contained in the treaty of 1762. Now *every ſchool-boy knows* (*p*), that when a certain ſum is demanded, or a certain act impoſed, as an indemnification for the

* See Appendix, fol. 30.

(*p*) A favourite phraſe of the Author of the Abſtract.

paſt neglect of a condition, the party paying that ſum, or performing that act, is reinſtated in all his other rights. That this treaty was ſo underſtood by the Nabob, appears beyond a doubt; becauſe, at the time that he was receiving this indemnification for the paſt neglect of the conditions of the treaty of 1762, he continued to receive, over and above that indemnification, the *current annual tribute*, impoſed by that treaty (*q*).

Contradictory opinions of the Council at Madraſs.

How then is it proved, that the treaty of 1762 was annulled? *The Preſidency of Madraſs declares it to be annulled*—And who doubts it? If it were not annulled, their conduct was not to be juſtified. They are not however very conſtant to their opinions. In the year 1770 they ſay it *was annulled* by the treaty of 1769 (*r*). But in the year 1771, *mutavit mentem populus levis*—it was *not annulled:* for then they acted, not as principals, but as auxiliaries; as *guarantees of the treaty of* 1762 (*s*).

The original extent and actual force of the treaty of 1762 determined by the Company.

Lord Pigot had too much ſenſe to form his opinion on this important queſtion, by the partial conſtruction of an ambitious ally; or by the fluctuating interpretations of intereſted Councils. There it was he looked for the opinion to which he was to adhere, where alone a ſure and certain rule was to be found:—in the deciſion of his employers:—and They He knew had determined, that the treaty of 1762 was ſtill in force; not abrogated, not annulled, by the ſubſequent treaties of 1769 or 1771.

3 Objection. Taken from his Majeſty's letter.

But his Majeſty approved the taking of the country of Tanjore from the Rajah, and the veſting of it in the Nabob of Arcot.

Anſwer. This letter written before Tanjore was ceded to the Nabob.

What proof of ſuch approbation is produced? A letter from his Majeſty to the Nabob. In this letter does his Majeſty congratulate the Nabob on the acquiſition of Tanjore? Does he ſuppoſe

(*q*) See Letter from the Rajah to the Directors. Eaſt India Houſe.
(*r*) See Abſtract, fol. 15. (*s*) See Ib. fol. 26.

him

him to be in poſſeſſion of Tanjore? No ſuch thing: He expreſſes only "his ſatisfaction, that the Governor and Council of Madraſs "had ſent the Company's troops, with thoſe of the Nabob, to re- "duce his (the Nabob's) tributary, the Rajah of Tanjore, to obe- "dience (*t*)." The letter indeed could not congratulate the Nabob on the acquiſition of Tanjore. He was not then in poſſeſſion of Tanjore: it was not even ſuſpected in England, that the Governor and Council of Fort St. George had formed the moſt diſtant idea of giving Tanjore to the Nabob. The letter was written in April 1772. In the diſpatches which the Company had received from Fort St. George by the Portland, They were informed, that, "in caſe the Rajah ſhould be ſubdued, the intention of the "government of Fort St. George was to reſtore *Him*, or place ſome "other more fit perſon of *his* family in the government of Tan- "jore." At moſt, it was determined, to leave the revenues of the country, ſubject to certain payments, as a depoſit in the hands of the Nabob; and to take the Fort as a depoſit into the hands of the Company.—The Portland ſailed in July 1771. In September 1771 the Governor and Council of Fort St. George made other ſtipulations with the Nabob: and on the 9th of October 1771. they diſpatched other letters to the Company: "But in theſe letters "they were entirely ſilent reſpecting the above ſtipulations:" and the Company "received a copy of the treaty of 1771 *before* They "were appriſed of the unwarrantable engagements entered into "with the Nabob." The copy of the treaty of 1771 was not received till the 16th of July 1772. His Majeſty's letter we have ſeen, was written in April 1772 (*u*); that is, whileſt his Majeſty, as well as the Company, was taught to believe that Tanjore *was not to be given to the Nabob*. By what rule of conſtruction, then, can this letter be made to approve the taking of Tanjore from the Ra-

(*t*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 7.

(*u*) For proofs of theſe aſſertions ſee the Company's Letter. Papers, vol. i. fol. 4, 5.

jah, and the veſting of it in the Nabob? It was the firſt plan, communicated by the Portland, which the Company approved: it was that, and *that* alone, which his Majeſty's letter approves.

Miſtake in ſuppoſing the Rajah to be tributary to the *Nabob*.

Far be it from us to ſpeak of any act of his Majeſty with diſreſpect. But, with all that deference which we feel as well as owe to every act of Government, let it be obſerved that his Majeſty was miſled by the aſſertion of the Nabob, if He ſuppoſed that, either by the laws of Indoſtan, or by the treaty of 1762, the Rajah was *his* tributary. By the conſtitution of Indoſtan, a Nabob is a *deputy of the deputy* of the Emperor of Delhi: the immediate Viceroy is the Soubah: a Nabob is a Governor under the Soubah. By the conſtitution of Indoſtan, the Nabob of Arcot is not the proprietor, he is only the collector, of the tribute to be paid by the Rajah of Tanjore. It is ſo declared in the treaty of 1762. Suppoſe a Prince to pay tribute to England; ſuppoſe the charge of collecting that tribute to be committed to the Viceroy of Ireland—to whom would the Prince be a tributary? to the King or to the Viceroy?

The letter approves only the compulſion of the payment of the tribute; not the ſtripping the Rajah of his kingdom.

But allowing the Rajah of Tanjore to have become by the treaty of 1762 tributary to the Nabob of Arcot, to what obedience could his Majeſty allude? To the obedience, which the Rajah ſtipulated to pay in the treaty of 1762: to the obedience due from a tributary; that is, to the punctual payment of his tribute. And will it be contended, that it is one and the ſame thing to compel a Prince to *pay* tribute, and to ſtrip him of the kingdom from which that tribute is to be drawn? Is it one and the ſame thing, to compel the Rajah of Tanjore, to furniſh his proportion to the defence of the Carnatic, and to leave him no part of the Carnatic to defend?

4 Objection. Taken from his Majeſty's

With an air of triumph we are told—that "his Majeſty has "been graciouſly pleaſed to ſend an Envoy with plenipotentiary "powers

" powers to the Nabob of the Carnatic:"—that " by thus recog- " nizing his claims to all the rights *of an ally*, his Majeſty has, in " *a manner*, pledged *himſelf and the nation* for the ſecurity *of his* " (the Nabob's) *poſſeſſions*, and the ſupport of his authority (*y*)."

miſſion of a Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the Nabob.

The gentleman who has ſince avowed that he furniſhed materials for this performance, though he adopt the modeſt ſtile of *an Agent*, is ſaid to be *an Envoy with plenipotentiary powers*. Where he learned his *code diplomatique*, where his law of nations, I will not take upon me to determine. If his Majeſty have pledged his Self, and his nation, for the ſecurity of the poſſeſſions and for the ſupport of the authority of the Nabob: it is indeed, only *in a manner*; in a manner unintelligible to any but an Eaſtern Agent. Where did this Agent learn, that barely to ſend a Miniſter is to recogniſe the claims of the Power, to whom that Miniſter is ſent, to all the rights of an ally?—Was no Miniſter ever ſent to complain of injuries? to demand ſatisfaction? to declare war?—Are theſe recognitions of a claim to all the rights of an ally? Where did He learn, that the Prince, who acknowledges an ally, pledges his Self and his people for the ſecurity of the poſſeſſions, and for the ſupport of the authority of that ally? Dangerous indeed would it be to form an alliance, if every ally muſt be defended in all his poſſeſſions, againſt all pretenders!

Anſwer. This does not imply an alliance, much leſs a guarantee of the Ally's poſſeſſions.

But allowing, for the ſake of argument, that to ſend a Miniſter was to recognize the claims of this Nabob, to all the rights of an ally; and that this recognition was, as our eaſtern Agent ſuppoſes, the ſame thing, as to guaranty his poſſeſſions; to what poſſeſſions muſt ſuch guaranty be extended? To thoſe only, I ſuppoſe, which he then had. And what did it appear to his Majeſty *were* the poſſeſſions of the Nabob when this Envoy was ſent? Whatever they might be, the country of Tanjore was not among them. This in-

If it did, it could only mean the then actual poſſeſſions, and the Nabob did not then poſſeſs Tanjore.

(*y*) See Nabob's Letter, fol. 20.

terpreter

terpreter of treaties, will not ſurely contend, that the King is bounden, by virtue of the miſſion of a Miniſter, with plenipotentiary powers, to defend all the poſſeſſions, which his *mighty ally* may acquire, at whatever period, by whatever means, from whatever of the Princes of Indoſtan.

But on this point too Lord Pigot was to be guided by his employers.

But neither on theſe points had Lord Pigot any room to debate: on theſe points his employers had decided; they had decided in *concurrence, as they tell us, with his Majeſty's Miniſters*, that the Rajah, on paying his tribute, and complying with certain conditions, ſhould be reſtored to, and protected in, the peaceable enjoyment of the throne of his anceſtors.

5 Objection. Tanjore as a part of the Carnatic is guarantied to the Nabob by the treaty of Paris.

Nor has it been thought ſufficient ſo indecently to trifle with the name of his Majeſty, and with the faith of the nation: but the interference of foreign powers muſt be invited to ſupport the uſurpation of the Nabob of Arcot. "Tanjore," we are told, "is a "part of the Carnatic, and therefore guarantied to the Nabob by "the treaty of Paris (z)."

Anſwer.

Short as this paragraph is, it contains a great deal; it contains two very capital miſtakes. For it ſets out by ſuppoſing, that Tanjore now is, and then, at the time of making the treaty of Paris, was, not only a part of the Carnatic, but a country over which the Nabob of Arcot now has, and then had, a right of exerciſing a *direct, and immediate juriſdiction.*

Tanjore is not a part of the Carnatic in the ſenſe for which it is here contended.

Now ſo far is this from being a true ſtate of the caſe, that in the very ſame papers we learn, that Tanjore was always governed by its own Princes, by its own native princes, till it was conquered by Echogee: that from that Epoch, till the preſent uſurpation of the Nabob—that is, till *fourteen years after* the treaty of Paris—it

(z) See Tanjore Papers, fol. xv.

has

has been governed by the deſcendants of Echogee (*a*). As well therefore might the Emperor lay claim to Hanover, becauſe it is a *part of the empire*, as the Nabob may lay claim to Tanjore, becauſe it is a part of the Carnatic.

Nothing is guarantied to the Nabob by the treaty of Paris.

Thus much for the firſt miſtake. No leſs capital is the ſecond: perhaps it is leſs pardonable. Who that has read the treaty of Paris can ſay that it guaranties Tanjore to the Nabob? So far from it, no part even of his then undiſputed poſſeſſions are by that treaty guarantied. The treaty ſays only, "that in order to pre-"ſerve future peace on the Coaſt of Coromandel, and Orixa, the "Engliſh and French ſhall acknowledge Mohammed Ally Khan "*for lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabad Jing for lawful* "*Soubah of the Decan* (*b*)." This Agent, Miniſter with plenipotentiary powers from the Nabob, interprets treaties, I ſuppoſe, by ſome Aſiatic rule: ſure I am, he interprets them by a rule, unknown to Europeans. The treaty ſays—What?—We acknowlege this man to be lawful Nabob of the Carnatic. This at moſt was acknowledging, that he was lawful poſſeſſor of the countries which he *then* held; and Tanjore he did not then hold. Tanjore we have ſeen, he had but a year before, declared by a ſolemn treaty, to be the country of *another* Prince; ſubject only to the payment of a ſtipulated tribute. The treaty does not *guaranty* either the payment of this tribute, or any other right or poſſeſſion of the Nabob. It ſimply *recognizes* them—But what ſays our interpreter? By ſo doing you take upon you to guaranty his poſſeſ-ſeſſions, actual or eventual. Almoſt every ſtate in Europe is guarantee of the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain to the Houſe of Hanover. Did any man ever thence conclude, that every ſtate

(*a*) See Tanjore Papers, fol. 8.

(*b*) See Treaty of Paris, art. xi. The Agent of the Nabob has prudently omitted the laſt part of this article—becauſe it recogniſes the *dependence of the Nabob on the Soubah of the Decan.* For the lawful Soubah of the Decan is the lawful ſuperior of the Nabob of Arcot.

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in Europe is to take arms in our defence, if any power attempt to wreſt from the crown of Great Britain, the minuteſt poſſeſſion which then did, now does, or hereafter by any means may, belong to it?

Nor did the contracting parties ſuppoſe Tanjore to belong to the Nabob.

I would not offend; but the extent and the meaning of the treaty of Paris, was not perhaps better known to the Agent of the Nabob than to the Courts of London and Verſailles. This treaty was ſigned in 1763. In 1762 the country of Tanjore had been guarantied by the Engliſh to the Rajah of Tanjore. Did the contracting parties to the treaty of Paris reſcind the treaty of 1762? Is there a ſingle phraſe in the treaty of Paris, that can be conſtrued ſo as to imply an opinion on their part, that Tanjore was, in the ſenſe it is here pretended, a part of the Carnatic? But this is not all.—In conſequence of the treaty of Paris certain places on the Coaſt of Coromandel were to be reſtored to the French. Among theſe was Carical with its ancient diſtricts. They had been granted by former Rajahs of Tanjore to the French, on condition of their paying to the Rajahs and their ſucceſſors an annual tribute, *une redevance annuelle*. During the courſe of the war theſe diſtricts had been taken, either by the Engliſh, or by their ally the King of Tanjore. At the concluſion of the peace Mr. Law de Lauriſton was appointed on the part of the French to receive them back again; and Mr. Ruſſel, on the part of the Engliſh, to reſtore them. During the whole courſe of this negociation, which laſted near a month, not a ſyllable was ſaid about the right of the Nabob to the country of Tanjore; no application was made to Him or his Miniſters. On the contrary, the Engliſh demanded that the French ſhould "acknowledge the King of Tanjore to *be the only true and rightful* "*Prince of that country*"—"that they ſhould not aſſiſt any tributary "or dependent on the King of Tanjore's government, in rebellion "or oppoſition to the King's claims and orders"—"That they "ſhould not interfere with the managers or management of the "Circars affairs, but in caſe of any complaints ſhould apply to the "King

"King for redreſs"—"That the ſame annual tribute ſhould be "paid by the French to the preſent Rajah, as had been paid to "the Rajah his predeceſſor." To all theſe demands the French conſented, with a ſaving only in the article of tribute. The Rajah They acknowledged to be the only true and rightful Prince of that country: the tribute They conſented to pay "if the King of "Tanjore ſhould demand it (*c*)."—And ſhall we, after this, be told, that Tanjore is a part of the Carnatic, and therefore guarantied to the Nabob by the treaty of Paris!

What would be the conſequence of enforcing the treaty of Paris.

Were it fair to cite the treaty of Paris; were it politic to invite the interference of foreign powers; were it true, that any thing was guarantied to either of the contending parties by that treaty; *we ſhould have a right to reclaim it in behalf of the Rajah.* If the Carnatic was guarantied, it was guarantied in its *then* ſtate: *to the Rajah Tanjore; Arcot to the Nabob.* The Soubah of the Decan might reclaim it, and call on the high contracting powers to reduce *his deputy the Nabob to obedience.*

6 Objection. The reſtoration of the Rajah riſked the affections of the Nabob whoſe father died in fighting our battles and whoſe ſelf has always been attached to us.

But it was impolitic, we are told, to reſtore the Rajah of Tanjore, becauſe you thereby riſked the affections of the Nabob, whoſe father and whoſe ſelf have ever been ſo ſteadily attached to the intereſts of the Engliſh. In fighting the *battles of the Engliſh*, we are told, the father of the Nabob loſt his life. "The preſent "Nabob," we are told, "ſucceeded his father in his *affection* for "the Engliſh, as well as in his government (*d*)."

Anſwer. The father of the preſent

In fighting the battles of the Engliſh!—An'waro'dean Khan, father to the preſent Nabob, died in fighting *his own battles.* He

(*c*) See the proceedings of the Preſident and Council at Fort St. George in their military and ſecret departments, relative to the places reſtored to the French in conſequence of the treaty of Paris, commencing in January and ending in May 1765. India Houſe.

(*d*) See Original Papers—Letter from the Nabob.

Nabob died in fighting his *own* battles, in defence of murther and uſurpation.

died at the battle of Amoor, fighting in defence of murther and uſurpation; in defence of that, which it was a diſhonour to the Engliſh nation to ſupport. He had cauſed, or at leaſt was on reaſonable grounds ſuſpected to have cauſed his lawful Prince, his *pupil* to be aſſaſſinated in his own preſence, at a wedding-feaſt. He had impoſed on Nizam-ul-Muluck, and by falſe pretences had obtained a commiſſion for the Nabobſhip of Arcot. Deteſted by the relations of the murthered Nabob, he ſaw Chundaſaheb advancing to avenge the murder: he ſaw him ſupported by the French, and he called on the Engliſh to fight his battles, to ſupport his cauſe. And it was by the arms of his own enemies, Chundaſaheb and Mirzafajing; enemies raiſed up againſt him by uſurpation (*f*): it was in fighting his own battles that at laſt he fell.

Proofs of diſaffection of the preſent Nabob to the Engliſh.

And what proofs has Mohammed Ally Khan, the preſent Nabob, given of his *affection* to the Engliſh? We ſhall ſee in the courſe of the ſucceeding narrative. There on the one hand, we ſhall ſee, the troops of the Engliſh marching with the armies of this affectionate ally; fighting his Battles; regaining his Country; defending his Authority againſt all who oppoſed it. There on the other hand we ſhall ſee this affectionate ally unwilling to pay them the money He had promiſed for their expences; we ſhall ſee him prevaricate; we ſhall ſee him forfeit the friendſhip and protection of the Commander of the Engliſh troops (*g*).

His attachment totally ſelfiſh.

Allow for a moment, that grown wiſer by defeat, he attached his Self to the *only ally*, who was able, or inclined to diſperſe the troops, and ſubdue the allies of Chundaſaheb; or to reſtore this affectionate ally to his dominions, and protect him in the enjoyment of them: ſhall this man boaſt, that he was defending *our* cauſe, that he was fighting *our* battles: when in fact he was fight-

(*f*) See Orme, fol. 52—129. (*g*) Ib. fol. 148—151.

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ing *pro ſuis Aris, pro ſuis Focis?* When in fact, at the very time our troops were bleeding in his defence, he was making private treaties with the Indian Princes; ceding territories, *without the participation* of the Engliſh, which had been preſerved by Engliſh arms; and thereby bringing on his Self and on his allies, new enemies, more dangerous, and more obſtinate, than thoſe, from whom by theſe very allies he had been ſaved (*h*).

7 Objection. The ſtate of the Carnatic concealed from the Company.

But the political ſtate of the Carnatic was concealed from the Company, when They iſſued their orders for reſtoring the Rajah to the throne of his anceſtors.

Anſwer. No proof given of this aſſertion.

Unſupported aſſertions may be made with eaſe: and has any one circumſtance been produced in ſupport of this aſſertion? Has any one circumſtance been produced, which was at that time concealed from the Company, and which, afterwards made known to Lord Pigot, could have juſtified him in mitigating orders full and preciſe; given upon matureſt deliberation; approved by the Miniſters of the King; conformable to the policy adopted by the Company ever ſince they acquired ſuch ample poſſeſſions on the Coaſts of Coromandel? Has any one circumſtance been produced, that could have even juſtified Lord Pigot in procraſtinating orders, which he was directed to carry into immediate execution?

To keep Tanjore and Arcot ſeparate has always been the policy of the Eaſt India Company.

Much indeed has been ſaid againſt the policy of reſtoring the Rajah. Shamefully has the credulity of the public been abuſed in repreſenting the reſtoration to be a ſcheme, which originated with Lord Pigot; and the keeping of Tanjore and of Arcot in the hands of ſeparate Princes, to be a new policy, firſt adopted by Lord Pigot. The policy is not new: on this ſubject the opinion of the Eaſt India Company, and of the beſt and ableſt of its ſervants has, for ſeven-

(*h*) He ceded Tritchinopoly and its dependencies to the King of Myſore, without of the participation of General Lawrence. See Orme, fol. 244.

teen years, been invariably the ſame. With Lord Pigot the policy, be it good or bad, did not originate. It was firſt adopted by Mr. Saunders; to whoſe ſagacity in diſcerning, and indefatigable application and perſeverance in purſuing the true intereſts of the Eaſt India Company, that Company owes perhaps its preſent exiſtence. It was under his government, that the firſt treaty was ſet on foot, for terminating the Myſorean war. The baſis of that treaty, the preliminary, from which nothing could tempt Mr. Saunders to depart, was the acknowledgment of Mohammed Ally as Nabob of the Carnatic, and the *guaranty of Pertaub Sing, father of the preſent Rajah, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Tanjore* (*i*). The ſame policy has been purſued in a later inſtance and by another Governor; by Mr. Dupré, in his treaty with Hyder Ally Khan, ſo late as the year 1769 (*k*). Nor have the adverſaries of the Rajah, or of Lord Pigot, produced a ſingle circumſtance, which ſhould induce the Company to recede from this policy.

A review of the principal tranſactions of the Carnatic will juſtify this policy;

On this point the reader will be able to form his own judgment from a ſhort—and we will take only a ſhort—review of the principal tranſactions in the Carnatic, from the acceſſion of Pertaub Sing, father of the preſent Rajah, and of An'waro'dean, father of the preſent Nabob.

and elucidate the orders given to Lord Pigot,

From this review another advantage will be derived. The reader will be better enabled to underſtand the true ſpirit of the orders, for the ſucceſsful execution of which the Company depended ſo much on "the peculiar abilities of Lord Pigot:" becauſe the reader will thereby be enabled to form to his Self a juſt idea of the ſituation of the Carnatic, at the time thoſe orders were iſſued. The meaning of a political order, of an order of government, muſt be collected, not from the bare words alone, but from the circumſtances which

(*i*) See Orme, fol. 357. (*k*) See Firſt Secret Report, fol. 8.

lead

lead to it; from the object which it has in view, from the general plan and ſpirit of the government.

Some advantage perhaps may be derived from it to his Lordſhip: his character will be ſet in a proper point of view. For here we ſhall unavoidably be led to ſay ſomething of the former merits of Lord Pigot. What is ſaid on this head ſhall be ſhort, but ſhall be authentic.—We will not refer to papers, fabricated for the preſent purpoſe: to ſuppoſed conferences, to ſecret tranſactions *: much leſs will we refer to manuſcripts in a language which the reader knows not; in poſſeſſion of a man with whom he can have no communication (*l*). All We venture to advance, ſhall be authenticated by facts known to the public; or by documents to which every man may have acceſs. Nor will We, to give conſequence to the noble Lord, whom we defend, miſquote or ſuppreſs; We will not repreſent him as *alone* included in tranſactions, wherein others have borne an equal part (*m*).

and ſet his Lordſhip's character in its proper point of view.

* * *

It is now near a century, that the family of the preſent Rajah has been ſeated on the throne of Tanjore (*n*). About the year 1742 Saujohee, ſon of Serbojee, a Prince whoſe weak adminiſtration had well nigh ruined his country, by the general concurrence

1742. Acceſſion of Pertaub Sing, father of the preſent Rajah.

* Quæ ſine teſte gerunt, quorum nox conſcia ſola eſt.

(*l*) See Appendix to the Nabob's Letter fol. 17—20 & paſſim: where we are pleaſantly enough referred to manuſcripts in the *poſſeſſion of the Nabob*, in ſupport of almoſt all the very few facts, which are cited in that declamatory performance.

(*m*) To intereſt the nation in the cauſe of *an ally*, as the preſent Nabob is called, by his Agent, as it were excluſively, and by way of diſtinction, he is repreſented as the *only Indian Prince* included in the treaty of Paris.—In the ſame article however, another Indian which has a better right to the title of *Prince* in the *very ſame terms* as the Nabob, and that Indian the *lawful ſuperior of the Nabob*.—See Appendix to Nabob's Letter.—See Treaty of Paris, Art. XI.

(*n*) Orme, fol. 108.

of

of the principal men of the Kingdom was depoſed; and by the ſame concurrence, his brother Pertaub Sing, father of the preſent Rajah, was called to the throne (*o*).

1749. The Preſidency of Fort St. David's determine to dethrone Him, and reſtore the depoſed Rajah.

In the year 1749, the Preſidency of Fort St. David's—ſeduced by the falſe accounts of interpreters, and other intereſted perſons; affected by the pathetic relation, which the depoſed Rajah gave of his misfortunes; influenced by his aſſurances, that a ſtrong and a numerous party was ſtill attached to him, and ready, on the firſt appearance of ſupport, to take up arms in defence of his rights; but above all determined by the offers of conceſſions, which he promiſed to the Company, and of private emoluments, which he held forth to their Selves—took a reſolution of reinſtating the depoſed Rajah. The price which Saujohee was to pay, was the ceſſion of the fort and territory of Devi Cotah to the Company, and the payment of all the expences of the war, if it proved ſucceſsful.

Conqueſt of Devi Cotah attempted without ſucceſs.

In conſequence of this agreement it was determined to begin the war by the conqueſt of Devi Cotah. But the expedition ſeems to have been undertaken without a ſufficient knowledge of the ſituation of the country, or of the ſtrength of the Prince they were to attack. The force appointed ſeems to have been inadequate. Unexpected hurricanes impeded the operation of the army, and ſtranding the veſſels, deprived it of the aſſiſtance and co-operation of the fleet. Not a ſingle ſquadron, not a man of rank, appeared on behalf of Saujohee; whilſt the troops of Pertaub Sing were more numerous and better provided than men had been taught to expect. Under all theſe diſadvantages the army was obliged to retreat, without having acquired any honour to their Selves, or any advantage to their ally.

(*o*) See Orme, fol. 108. (*p*) Ib. fol. 112.

Though

All hope of reſtoring the depoſed Rajah given up.

Though the Preſidency could no longer expect the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance from the partiſans of Saujohee, though all hope of reſtoring him to the throne was now at an end, yet it was determined to continue the war. The *pretext* was the ſame—the deſire of reſtoring one, whom they called an injured Prince, to what they called his rights—But the real motives were changed. The Engliſh were now actuated by reſentment, at having been forced to retreat before the arms of an Indian Prince; by a deſire of atchieving ſomething of importance enough to efface this reproach; and by a wiſh of making ſome acquiſition to reimburſe the expences, which had already been incurred (*q*).

But a ſecond expedition againſt Devi Cotah ſucceeds, and a treaty is made with Pertaub Sing.

Devi Cotah was a ſecond time attacked, by a force better appointed and more adequate to the enterprize. The ſucceſs correſponded with the preparations. But it was ſoon perceived that any farther attempts againſt the Kingdom of Tanjore would be attended with difficulties, to which the force of the Engliſh was by no means equal. Satisfied therefore with this reparation to the honour of the Engliſh arms, and with the advantages gained to the Company by the capture of Devi Cotah, all thoughts of reſtoring Saujohee were abandoned; and a treaty made with Pertaub Sing, who ceded to the Eaſt India Company for ever the fort of Devi Cotah, with as much land as would produce an annual income of 9000 pagodas; engaging to reimburſe the expences of the war, and to grant a penſion to Saujohee. The Company on their part ſtipulated, that they would be anſwerable for the perſon of Saujohee, that he ſhould never more diſturb the Kingdom of Tanjore by his pretenſions to the throne (*r*).

To which Pertaub Sing was determined by a revolution in the Carnatic.

To conceſſions, thus liberal, Pertaub Sing was not induced by the fear he entertained, either of the arms of the Engliſh, or of the party of Saujohee. But it was important to him to get rid of this

(*q*) See Orme, fol. 112. (*r*) Ib. fol. 118.

pretender

pretender and his abettors, in order to be at full liberty to provide againſt other dangers, to which his kingdom might be expoſed by other events, which, happening but a few days before, had ſpread univerſal conſternation through the whole coaſt of Coromandel (*s*).

This revolution explained.

To underſtand theſe events it will be neceſſary to look back to what had paſt ſome years before in the Carnatic.

Account of the Morattoes.

Before the Carnatic was conquered by the Great Mogul, the Morattoes were in poſſeſſion of ſeveral fortreſſes and territories in the country. Retreating from before the arms of the Moors, they ſtipulated to receive annually a portion of the revenues, as a recompence for the poſſeſſions which they relinquiſhed (*t*).

And of the changes in the conſtitution of the Mogul empire.

Since the dreadful incurſion of the Perſians under Thamas Kouli Khan, the conſtitution of the Mogul empire has been daily declining. The Soubahs or Viceroys have been ſeen to maintain their Selves in their governments, and to appoint Nabobs and deputies under them, without the conſent, and even againſt the Will of the Emperor of Delhi. The Nabobs, on their part, aiming at the ſame independence, have been likewiſe ſeen to keep poſſeſſion of their reſpective governments, in oppoſition both to the Soubah and to the Emperor. Among the moſt powerful and conſequently the leaſt dependent of theſe, was the Nabob of Arcot (*u*).

1732. Doaſt Ally, Nabob of Arcot, hated by the Morattoes and Nizam-ul-Muluck,

In the year 1732 Nizam-ul-Muluck was Soubah of the Decan: and Doaſt Ally, the adopted ſon of Sadatulla, ſucceeded to the Nabobſhip of Arcot. But his acceſſion was not confirmed either by the Emperor or by the Soubah. Neither he nor his predeceſſor condeſcended to pay the accuſtomed tribute to the Morattoes. His

(*s*) See Orme, p. 35. 37. (*t*) Ib. p. 118. (*u*) Ib. p. 41.

acceſſion

acceſſion therefore was regarded with a jealous eye, both by the Morattoes and by the Soubah. Soubah of the Decan.

Other circumſtances concurred to heighten the jealouſy of the one and of the other. As inattentive as Doaſt Ally ſhewed his Self to the Soubah, as backward as he was in acquitting the tribute he was to pay; juſt as attentive was he to enforce obedience from the Princes, who were in any degree ſubordinate to him, juſt as rigorous in exacting the tributes he was to receive.

1736. Increaſes their hatred by the ſeizure of Tritchinopoly.

The Kingdoms of Tritchinopoly, and Tanjore were tributaries, not to the Nabob of Arcot, but to the Great Mogul: the care only of levying the tributes of theſe countries was intruſted to the Nabob of Arcot. The death of the King of Tritchinopoly in 1736 was followed by diſputes between the Queen and a Prince of the royal blood, which furniſhed Doaſt Ally with a pretence of ſending an army: the avowed Deſign was to reſtore the tranquility, the real Deſign to get poſſeſſion, of the country. The army was commanded by his ſon Subder Ally, and one of his ſons-in-law Chundaſaheb. In his march to Tritchinopoly Chundaſaheb ſtopt at Pondicherry; and there laid the firſt foundation of an intimate connection with the French government. By intrigues, of which the detail would here be uſeleſs, Subder Ally and Chundaſaheb got poſſeſſion of the capital and Kingdom of Tritchinopoly. Subder Ally, returning to his father, left Chundaſaheb to govern theſe new acquiſitions (*x*).

1740. He is attacked and ſlain by the Morattoes.

The reſentment of Nizam-ul-Muluck againſt the family of Doaſt Ally increaſed with this increaſe of their power. Unable from the precarioufneſs of his own ſituation, and from the number of his other enemies, to reduce this Nabob to obedience, he called the Morattoes to his aid. An army of ten thouſand Morattoes in-

(*x*) See Orme, fol. 37—39.

vaded the Carnatic in the year 1740: a battle enſued, in which Doaſt Ally, and Hoſſan Ally his youngeſt ſon, loſt their lives. His eldeſt ſon, Subder Ally, took refuge in Velore: Chundaſaheb, by contrived delays, kept aloof from the field of battle; and, after the defeat of the Nabob, returned to Tritchinopoly (*y*).

Who make a treaty with his ſon Subder Ally, Nabob of Arcot.

Doaſt Ally was no more, the Morattoes made a treaty with his ſon Subder Ally, who aſſumed the title of Nabob of Arcot. The oſtenſible conditions were, that the Morattoes ſhould quit the Carnatic, on the Nabob's engaging to pay, by certain inſtalments, ten millions of rupees: the ſecret article was, that the Nabob ſhould permit them to return and conquer Tritchinopoly (*z*).

In conſequence of that treaty they take Tritchinopoly, and impriſon the Nabob's refractory Governor, Chundaſaheb.

They accordingly returned toward the end of the year; and in the month of March following became maſters of Tritchinopoly and of the perſon of Chundaſaheb; whom they carried off with them, and confined in a ſtrong fort in the neighbourhood of Sattarah their metropolis (*a*); with a view of obtaining a ranſom, as immenſe as the reputation of his wealth had taught them to expect.

Subder Ally is murthered by his brother-in-law Mortiz Ally.

By the impriſonment of Chundaſaheb at ſuch a diſtance from the Carnatic, Subder Ally found his Self rid of one enemy: the ceſſion of Tritchinopoly had converted the Moratoes, another enemy, to friends and allies. The reſentment of Nizam-ul-Muluck was all which he conceived he had now to apprehend. But in this he was miſtaken. For whilſt, by various pretences, he was endeavouring to conciliate the affection of the Soubah, he was treacherouſly murthered by Mortiz Ally, nephew to his father, and huſband to another of his ſiſters (*b*).

Seid Mohammed made Nabob of Ar-

The murtherer aſſumed, but was ſoon compelled to relinquiſh, the title of Nabob of Arcot; and the Nabobſhip was conferred on

(*y*) See Orme, p. 39—42.
(*z*) Ib. p. 42, 43.
(*a*) Ib. p. 43, 44.
(*b*) Ib. p. 44—49.

Seid

Seid Mohammed, an infant ſon of Subder Ally. The Regency of the country, and the Guardianſhip of the perſon of the infant Nabob, were entruſted to a *ſtranger*; An'waro'dean, father of the preſent Nabob of Arcot (*c*).

cot; and An'waro'dean, father of the preſent Nabob, appointed Regent and Guardian.

The fate of Seid Mohammed was equally tragical with that of his father. In the month of June 1744, at a wedding-feaſt, in the preſence, and by the contrivance of his Guardian An'waro'dean (father of the preſent Nabob) and of Mortiz Ally, the murtherer of Subder Ally, this unfortunate young man was ſtabbed by a captain of the Pitan Guards (*d*).

1744. Seid Mohammed murthered by An'waro'dean and Mortiz Ally.

It is very difficult to diſcover the ſecrets of the Princes of Indoſtan. In matters of conſequence Mr. Orme remarks, nothing is committed to writing; or, if committed, it is couched in the moſt equivocal terms. Affairs of great importance, or of great *iniquity*, are intruſted to *an agent of low rank, but great cunning*; his credentials are general; and, ſpecifying nothing, the agent may be eaſily diſavowed. Hence the public in Indoſtan, deprived of authentic evidence, are left to judge of the actions of their rulers from probable conjectures, from their general characters, and from the advantages they may reap by the perpetration of any crime. In the preſent caſe, the conduct of An'waro'dean was ſcarcely equivocal. The appearance of Mortiz Ally (the aſſaſſin of the father of his pupil) ſo early in his adminiſtration at Arcot; and his own acceſſion to the Nabobſhip after the murther of his pupil, were deciſive againſt him. Nor could his affected diſavowal of all connection with Mortiz Ally, or the reſentment he expreſſed againſt the whole body of the Pitans, diminiſh the general odium (*e*).

Proofs of the connivance of An'waro'dean in this murther.

But having ſecured the protection of Nizam-ul-Muluck, he was by him appointed Nabob of Arcot, enabled to maintain his au-

Nizam ul Muluck appoints An'-

(*c*) See Orme, p. 49—54. (*d*) Ib. p. 54—57. (*e*) Ib. p. 57—60.

waro'dean Nabob of Arcot.

thority, and reduce to obedience thoſe who might be tempted to diſpute it. There was indeed a man from whom he had much to fear. That man was Chundaſaheb. Happily for An'waro'dean, He was then a priſoner. It was however poſſible that he might be releaſed: it was therefore prudent to provide againſt ſuch an event.

1745. An'waro'dean inimical to the Engliſh, and favours the French.

The connection of Chundaſaheb with the French, was no ſecret; his women, his children, and great part of his treaſures, were left at Pondicherry. Under theſe circumſtances it would have been ſo natural, it would have been ſo politic, that it could ſcarcely have been meritorious in the Nabob, to have attached his Self to the Engliſh. But no marks of ſuch attachment did he then give. On the contrary, in the war which broke out between Great Britain and France in the year 1745, ſoon after the acceſſion of An'waro'dean, at the inſtigation of the French, he forbade the Engliſh fleet to act againſt the poſſeſſions of the French in the territories of Arcot. He enforced this prohibition by declaring, that *the town of Madraſs ſhould atone for their diſobedience* (*f*). He had given the moſt poſitive aſſurances of obliging the French to obſerve the ſame neutrality, and to refrain from all hoſtilities on the Engliſh poſſeſſions in Arcot. In vain did the Engliſh call upon him to fulfil theſe engagements; he ſuffered the French to attack, to beſiege, to take, Madraſs, without any preparation, without a ſingle menace on his part to reſtrain them (*g*).

Makes a ſecret treaty with Monſ. Dupleix; the breach of which inclines him to join the Engliſh.

He had indeed his views. For, by a private treaty between him and the Governor of Pondicherry, it was agreed that the town of Madraſs ſhould be given *up to him*, that he might extort a valuable ranſom from the Engliſh (*h*). But this treaty the Governor either could not or would not fulfil. The Nabob, ſtung with reſentment, determined to retake Madraſs, and either to keep it in his own hands, or to *ſell* it to his Friends, the Engliſh, as He ſhould find it moſt for his advantage.—But here again He was

(*f*) See Orme, p. 61.
(*g*) Ib. p. 64, 65. and Appendix, fol. 12, 13.
(*h*) Ib. p. 68, 69.

diſap-

diſappointed; and now, for the firſt time learned how little multitudes can do againſt diſcipline. Nothing then ſeemed left to him, but to join the Engliſh. Yet neither reſentment at having been deceived, nor ſhame at having been defeated, nor even neceſſity itſelf could induce him to aſſiſt the Engliſh, in the defence of Fort St. David's, till they had ſtipulated to pay the expences of his army (*i*).

But returns again to the French.

So far was his attachment from having acquired that firm texture, which it boaſted afterwards, that it melted beneath the firſt ray of French influence. No ſooner did the French hold out terms than the few priſoners he had taken were reſtored. His ſon was ordered to liſten to Dupleix; to wait on him at Pondicherry; to receive preſents from him; to conclude a peace with him; to recall his troops from the aſſiſtance of his friends the Engliſh (*k*). But theſe are marks of the attachment of An'waro'dean to the Engliſh, of his readineſs to *fight their battles*, which either by the prudence, or by the modeſty of the preſent Nabob and his advocates, have been carefully ſuppreſſed.

The releaſe of Chunda-ſaheb, who was protected by the French, attaches him again to the Engliſh.

The event, however, which happened about the time that Pertaub Sing, father of the preſent Rajah, ceded Devi Cotah, might, perhaps, have ſtrengthened the attachment of An'waro'dean to the Engliſh; might perhaps have determined him, as it did the preſent Nabob, to look up to them as to the only power which could protect him. That event was no other than the releaſe of Chundaſaheb from his impriſonment.

Chundaſaheb's character and power.

Chundaſaheb's alliance and conſanguinity with the family of the murthered Nabob, enſured him the affections—his reputation as a man and a ſoldier the eſteem and reverence—of the natives of Arcot: added to his wealth and connections, they ſerved to unite

(*i*) See Orme, p. 72. 79.

(*k*) Ib. p. 84, 85.

under

under him all the other Chiefs of the family of Doaſt Ally. Great advantages Monſ. Dupleix foreſaw might be derived from favouring his pretenſions to the Nabobſhip of Arcot: and this ſecured to him the aſſiſtance of the French (*l*). Chance gave him the protection of Murzafajing, grandſon of Nizam-ul-Muluck, who, at the head of 25,000 men, was diſputing with his uncle Nazirjing the right to the Soubahſhip of the Decan; but who, won by the eloquence, and awed by the influence of Chundaſaheb, determined to poſtpone the aſſertion of his own claims, and to employ his troops in ſupport of the claims of Chundaſaheb.

He attacks, conquers, kills An'waro'dean.

A more formidable competitor to An'waro'dean could not have been found in Indoſtan. His preparations were equal to the ſenſe which he entertained of his own danger and of the power of his rival. But the event was fatal to the Nabob. The rivals met at Amoor; An'waro'dean was killed.—*Thus* therefore fell An'waro'dean. He fell, not as the preſent Nabob pretends, in fighting the battles *of the Engliſh*, but in fighting his own battles; in defence *of his own dominions*. His eldeſt ſon was taken priſoner; his army routed; and his youngeſt ſon, Mohammed Ally, the preſent Nabob, ſaved his Self by flight (*m*).

Alarm cauſed by the ſucceſs of Chundaſaheb in Tanjore and in the Engliſh ſettlements.

The conſternation at the ſucceſs of Chundaſaheb was almoſt as great in Tanjore, as among the friends and dependents of An'waro'dean; and was the real motive which engaged Pertaub Sing to ſign the treaty for the ceſſion of Devi Cotah. The part which Monſ. Dupleix had taken in the revolution at Arcot; the ſovereignty of eighty-one villages in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, given by Chundaſaheb, as the price of that aſſiſtance; opened the eyes of the Engliſh to the ambitious views of the French, and inclined them to counterbalance the advantages which Chundaſaheb had reaped from the French aſſiſtance; to

(*l*) See Orme, p. 118—121. (*m*) Ib. 121—129.

aid

aid, as far as they could aid, the ſon of An'waro'dean; and to procure him a yet more powerful aſſiſtance, by uniting in the ſame cauſe the Rajah of Tanjore.

Pertaub Sing attaches his Self to the Engliſh, and the Nabob.

In the long conteſt, which ſucceeded between Chundaſaheb and Mohammed Ally, and in the Myſorean war, which ſucceeded that conteſt, the Rajah of Tanjore gave the moſt unequivocal marks of attachment to the Engliſh, and of friendſhip to Mohammed.

Tanjore beſieged by Chundaſaheb in conſequence thereof.

To his early avowal of theſe ſentiments it was owing, that the ſiege of the capital of Tanjore was one of the firſt objects of Chundaſaheb. The Rajah, unſupported by the Engliſh, who at that time were too weak to ſend more than twenty Europeans to his aid, protracted the ſiege as long as he could; gave time to Mohammed Ally, who had ſhut his Self up in Tritchinopoly, to prepare for a vigorous defence (*n*); and was at laſt compelled, by the payment of an immenſe tribute, to purchaſe a peace from that enemy, whom he could no longer reſiſt.

The Rajah ſends troops to the aſſiſtance of the Nabob, and his General puts Chundaſaheb to death.

Unſhaken by theſe loſſes the Rajah of Tanjore adhered to his friends. His country was always open to facilitate the communication between the troops of the Nabob and his allies: he went farther, he ſent three thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot, under the command of Monacjee, the ableſt of his Generals, to the ſupport of the Nabob in Tritchinopoly (*o*). To this General it was that the Nabob was indebted for ridding him of the only rival he would have had to fear, had not others been excited by his own imprudence. Chundaſaheb, having endeavoured to ſeduce Monacjee from his duty, fell a ſacrifice to his own artifice: he was taken by Monacjee, put to death by his order, and his head was ſent to the Nabob, who *now, for the firſt time, ſaw the face of an enemy*, who had kept him in perpetual alarm (*p*).

(*n*) See Orme, p. 135, 136. (*o*) Ib. p. 208.

(*p*) Ib. p. 241. See alſo a Letter from the preſent Rajah to the Court of Directors. India Houſe.

If

Imprudent treaty made by the Nabob with the King of Myſore.

If the death of Chundaſaheb did not reſtore tranquility to the Carnatic, it was owing to the imprudence of the Nabob. But this weak man, at the moment his friends were delivering him from one enemy, created another: unequal in one war, he laid the foundation of another, yet more obſtinate, with other rivals, yet more dangerous. Without the concurrence of thoſe, who were rather his *Protectors* than his *Allies*; without the knowlege, either of the Engliſh, or of the King of Tanjore, this infatuated man had entered into a ſecret treaty, by which he had ceded the city of Tritchinopoly with all its dependencies to the King of Myſore (*q*).

Conſequences thereof.

The immediate conſequences of this ſurreptitious treaty, were, a ſtop to the recovery of the Nabob's other dominions in Arcot; and a diviſion of the ſtrength of the Engliſh. The Engliſh, to prevent the execution of a treaty, which the Nabob had no power to make, and which would have been ſo ruinous to them, were obliged to leave in Tritchinopoly a conſiderable part of that force which was deſtined to put the Nabob in poſſeſſion of the province of Arcot. So that, inſtead of the inſpiring exultation of a victorious army, nothing was left to the Protectors of the Nabob, but the bitter reflection, that, fighting for ſuch a man, no advantages could be gained even by conqueſt (*r*).

The French ſet up a new Nabob of Arcot.

His enemies were not inattentive to the advantages holden out to them by his miſconduct. Salabadjing, Soubah of the Decan, aided by a conſiderable force of the French, proclaimed Rajah Saheb, ſon of Chundaſaheb, Nabob of Arcot. And, when it was found that the incapacity of Rajah Saheb made him rather a burthen than a ſupport to the cauſe, they depoſed him, and ſet up Mortiz Ally Khan of Velore, from whoſe wealth, ability, and connections, conſiderable advantages were expected (*s*).

(*q*) See Orme, p. 243.
(*r*) Ib. p. 247.
(*s*) Ib. 275—296.

The

The reſources which the Nabob might have found from the recovery of Arcot were thus cut off by his own imprudence. He had art enough to turn even this circumſtance to his private emolument; though he riſked by it the friendſhip of the Company, and, in the event, the ſucceſs of his own cauſe. During the courſe of this war the Engliſh were obliged to furniſh all the expences of their troops. The Nabob had not, or pretended not to have, money to pay his troops: He was therefore in a manner deprived of their ſervices. His horſe firſt refuſed to ſerve, and then went over to the enemy. A part of his infantry revolted; and but for the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, would have made him ſuffer the moſt diſgraceful outrages (*t*). Two of his battalions laid down their arms in the midſt of ſervice, becauſe they could not obtain their pay from the Nabob. In this alarming event, diſtreſt as the Engliſh were for money, they were obliged to advance the pay for his troops; though it has ſince ſufficiently appeared, that the Nabob did not want the *means* of paying them, but the will (*u*).

Firmneſs of the Rajah to his alliance.

The Engliſh and Pertaub Sing would have been juſtified in abandoning an ally, who had ſo ſhamefully ſacrificed his own intereſts. But they continued to ſupport him in this, as they had in the preceding war. Tanjore had been laid waſte by the Morattoes; it required therefore ſome time for the Rajah to recruit. And no ſooner was he a little relieved from their depredations, than he ſent the ſame General Monacjee, who by the capture of Chundaſaheb had put an end to the firſt war, at the head of 3000 horſe and 2000 matchlocks, to co-operate with the Engliſh in oppoſing the Myſorean, and in reinſtating the Nabob in all his poſſeſſions (*x*). Nor were the good effects of theſe auxiliaries confined to the field alone: for ſuch was the influence of Monacjee over the inhabitants of the country, that he ſecured to the troops, both of the

(*t*) See Orme, p. 275—296.
(*u*) See Appendix, Eighth Secret Report, fol. lxxiv.
(*x*) See Orme, p. 299.

Engliſh and the Nabob, thoſe frequent ſupplies of grain, without which they muſt have diſbanded or periſhed.

Attempts to detach the Rajah from the Nabob.

So eſſentially did it appear to the enemies of the Nabob, that theſe troops had contributed to his victories; of ſuch importance did they think it to detach the Rajah of Tanjore from his alliance; that every thing was put in practice to accompliſh an object ſo deſirable. Bribes, threats, intrigues, promiſes, every thing was employed. All proving ineffectual, Tanjore was again invaded by the Morattoes (y). Monacjee at the head of 3000 horſe avenged the inſult, and repulſed the invaders; preſerving thereby a country, without which the army of the Nabob muſt have periſhed. For from the country of Tanjore it was, that his armies were ſupplied with proviſions (z), as it was from the treaſures of Tanjore that the immenſe ſums were iſſued, which purchaſed the retreat of Morarirow, and bought off an enemy equally formidable to the Nabob and to the Engliſh.

Proofs of Mr. Saunders's high opinion of the Rajah.

In a word, as the moſt honourable, and the leaſt equivocal teſtimony of the fidelity of Pertaub Sing to his engagements; of his attachment to the Engliſh, and to the Nabob, whom they protected, we may again recall to the reader's attention, that at the cloſe of this Myſorean war, Mr. Saunders would liſten to no propoſal, would enter into no treaty, to which the guaranty of Pertaub Sing in the Kingdom of Tanjore was not a preliminary.

1751. Lord Pigot heads a detachment to the aſſiſtance of the Nabob.

During the courſe of this long conteſt, Lord Pigot had occaſion to exert thoſe abilities, to which both the Nabob and the Company have been ſo often indebted. To relieve the diſtreſſes of the Nabob, he went out of the line of his duty, at the hazard of his life. In the year 1751 the Nabob was ſhut up in Tritchinopoly. Lord Pigot was then of the Council at Fort St. David; which, ſince the capture of Madraſs had been the ſeat of govern-

(y) See Orme, p. 299. (z) Ib. p. 341—343.

ment.

ment. The Council was importuned to relieve the fort of Verdachellum, and to ſend reinforcements to Tritchinopoly. To effectuate theſe objects it was determined that a detachment ſhould be ſent from Fort St. David's. But every officer, upon whom the Preſidency could depend, was already in the field. The conduct of this detachment, at the requeſt of Governor Saunders, was therefore undertaken by Lord Pigot. Succeſs juſtified the choice of the Governor. Lord Pigot ſurpriſed the troops of the enemy, relieved Verdachellum, and ſent a detachment through the country of Tanjore, to reinforce the garriſon of Tritchinopoly. This important and dangerous ſervice performed he returned from Verdachellum, accompanied by Lord Clive, with a ſuite only of twenty-four perſons, through a country poſſeſſed by the troops of the enemy, who continually harraſſed his little party; the ſmall remains of which owed their ſafety ſolely to the conduct and the courage of their leader (*a*).

1755. Lord Pigot ſucceeds Mr. Saunders in the government of Madraſs.

In the year 1755, after the treaty made by Mr. Saunders with the French Commiſſary Mr. Godeheu, Lord Pigot ſucceeded Mr. Saunders in the government of Madraſs. The ſituation and intereſt of the various contending parties on the coaſt of Coromandel, may in ſome meaſure be underſtood from the preceding narrative, but are infinitely better and more happily deſcribed, by the able author, to whoſe authority we ſo often have referred (*b*). They will be found to have been ſuch as required in the Governor of Madraſs a man of no mean abilities, of no common integrity.

1756. Surajah Dowla ſtorms Calcutta.

In the ſpring of 1756 a moſt unexpected event took place at Bengal. Surajah Dowlah, the Nabob of that country, ſtormed the town of Calcutta; and killed or diſperſed the ſmall remains of the Company's Servants in the other parts of Bengal. The few that could be kept together retired in veſſels to Fulta, towards the entry of the river Hugley. From this place they diſpatched to Madraſs the moſt pathetic accounts of their ſituation.

(*a*) See Orme, p. 181, 182. (*b*) Mr. Orme.

Situation of Madraſs.

Hiſtory perhaps does not furniſh an occaſion where the virtuous and manly qualities of a Governor could be put to a ſeverer trial; an occaſion, where they have ever been diſplayed with more ability or more luſtre. A war with France was hourly expected in India, had actually taken place in Europe. The ſituation of the Engliſh was full of difficulty and danger. On the one hand the power of the French, on the coaſt of Coromandel, their influence over the Princes of the country, had been ſhewn in the efforts they had made againſt the preſent Nabob; the force of the Engliſh was hardly ſufficient to protect their own ſettlements upon the ſlighteſt change of politics in any of their allies, or of fortune in any of their enterprizes: on the other hand ſtood our miſerable countrymen craving aſſiſtance in Bengal; all our eſtabliſhments in that rich kingdom tottering. The Company itſelf ſhook from its foundations; and with it trembled the public and the private fortunes of Great Britain. Thoſe who remember the dread which that cataſtrophe ſpread throughout this kingdom—the dread of an univerſal bankruptcy—thoſe men, we hope, will not forget what they owe to the wiſe and ſpirited conduct of Lord Pigot.

Difficulties Lord Pigot had to encounter.

He ſaw that the loſs of our poſſeſſions in Bengal would be the ruin of the Company, of public credit, of the Nation; in the recovery of them he determined to hazard every thing. His determination was followed, was juſtified by ſucceſs.

He ſends a detachment under Lord Clive to Bengal.

Many were the difficulties which his Lordſhip had to encounter. The general opinion of the ſettlement of Madraſs was againſt him; they trembled for their own ſafety. Many were the real, many more the ſuppoſed difficulties, which preſented their Selves, in tranſporting the troops, in conducting the ſhips, in every ſtep that was to be taken for ſending ſuccour, if ſuccour could be ſent. But Lord Pigot was not a man to be diſcouraged by difficulties. He offered his own perſonal ſervice to head the detachment to be ſent to Bengal. That being declined, becauſe his preſence was neceſſary at Madraſs, with equal ability and diſpatch, againſt every obſtacle

obſtacle that oppoſed itſelf, he ſent off the detachment under Colonel Clive, which retook Calcutta, ſaved the Eaſt India Company, and in the ſequel obtained thoſe immenſe advantages, from which the nation has derived ſo much benefit.

State of the Carnatic.

The defenceleſs ſtate of the Carnatic, weakened by ſending this detachment, did not eſcape the penetrating eye of the French.

1758. Fort St. David's taken by Lally.

In 1758 the large equipment under General Lally arrived at Pondicherry. He immediately attacked and carried Fort St. David's. It required the utmoſt policy, and the higheſt perſonal confidence, to retain our Indian allies ſteady on this trying occaſion.

Who attacks Tanjore, but is repulſed by the Rajah.

It was from the Kingdom of Tanjore that our principal ſupplies were received. Every temptation was offered to detach the Rajah from our intereſts: the high opinion he entertained of the honour of the Engliſh nation, and his regard for the probity of Lord Pigot, prevented the Rajah from ſwerving from his engagements. This drew the reſentment of Lally. Inſtead of beſieging Madraſs he marched againſt Tanjore, where, by a gallant reſiſtance from the Rajah, Lally was foiled.

The ſiege of Madraſs.

Lally's next operation was the ſiege of Madraſs. Here again the fate of the India Company hung on the conduct of Lord Pigot. If Madraſs had fallen, with it muſt have fallen all our poſſeſſions in India. By Lord Pigot's gallant and prudent behaviour the ſiege was raiſed: Madraſs was preſerved: the greateſt European force that ever appeared in that country was broken; and the fortunes of the Engliſh gained, for the firſt time, a decided aſcendant over thoſe of the French.

Pondicherry taken.

Lord Pigot did not neglect to improve this happy change in our circumſtances. The Engliſh army immediately took the field, and puſhed their advantage with unremitted ardour till the capture of Pondicherry left them ſcarce a rival in the Eaſt.

In

Difficulties which obſtructed that enterprize.

In the courſe of that arduous undertaking, innumerable inconveniencies had ariſen, which might have proved fatal to the ſervice. Much was to be feared from the incompatible claims of claſhing juriſdictions: much from the frequent ſhifting of the command of the troops, which paſt from Brereton to Coote, from Coote to Monſon, from Monſon to Coote again: much from diſputes between the naval and military officers. Certain indeed it is, and greatly to the honour of all, that no contrariety of opinion did eſſentially hurt the ſervice: all did their duty in a manner which reflected honour on their Selves, and enſured ſucceſs to the arms of their country. Yet let it be admitted, becauſe it cannot be denied by any one acquainted with thoſe tranſactions, that the conciliating temper of Lord Pigot—of the man, whom his enemies now repreſent as a man of violence—prevented many of theſe miſunderſtandings which had been but too much dreaded; and kept thoſe which could not be prevented, from proceeding to extremity: let it be remembered, that the mildneſs of his temper, the ſweetneſs of his manners, the integrity of his conduct, made him the reconciler of all differences, the center of union that gave energy to the whole.

Pondicherry raſed by the advice of Lord Pigot.

When Pondicherry was taken Lord Pigot had ſtill a difficult part to act. The limits of authority between the officer commanding on the part of the King, and the Governor acting on the part of the Company, muſt ever be ill defined. And it is difficult to conceive an occaſion where a conflict of juriſdiction might have been more fatal. On the one hand, it was natural for General Coote to wiſh to preſerve this proud trophy of his military fame; it was meritorious in him to wiſh to hold ſomething in his hands for the orders of the King, that might balance national loſſes in other parts of the world: on the other hand, it was natural in Lord Pigot, as Governor for the Company, to wiſh to ſee Pondicherry demoliſhed; it was politic to relieve the Miniſter from the embarraſſing choice of ceding it at the reſtoration of peace, to the detriment of the Company; or of protracting, by a refuſal to cede it,

it, the reſtoration of peace, to the detriment of the ſtate. At all events it was the duty of Lord Pigot to prevent the French Company from again lifting its head in India. It was a generous and a noble ſtruggle between the two Commanders. Lord Pigot prevailed: Pondicherry was raſed to its foundation. By many it has been ſaid, that in this Lord Pigot exceeded the ſtrict line of his authority. But it was not the policy of that time to ſacrifice the ſpirit to the letter of an order; to argue with the cold caution of a ſpecial pleader on occaſions which called for the boldneſs of a politician. At that time an honeſt man might go out of the beaten track to do ſomething more than his duty: nor needed he to fear diſgrace for having merited eternal gratitude.

1762. Peace eſtabliſhed between the country powers.

After the capture of Pondicherry and the extirpation of the French in 1762, a general peace united the country powers. Nor is it the leaſt of his Lordſhip's merits, that, whileſt he planned the moſt juſt and equitable terms of union, he was particularly attentive to the intereſt of thoſe who had been faithful to the Engliſh. Among thoſe, we have ſeen, the Rajah of Tanjore held the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank.

Conduct of Lord Pigot as mediator of that peace.

This laſt act of his Lordſhip's government was worthy his preceding behaviour. In the former part of his conduct, he had given ſufficient proofs of his aſſiduity, prudence, and fortitude. His generoſity, his diſintereſtedneſs as an individual, individuals had often experienced: it remained only to prove his attachment to the intereſts of the public; and his integrity as an arbitrator. Of both theſe the treaty of 1762 afforded the moſt undeniable proofs.

His equity in adjuſting the claims of the Nabob and Rajah.

In adjuſting the claims of the Nabob and of the Rajah, the ſtricteſt and moſt ſcrupulous attention was ſhewn to Juſtice and Equity. The merits of each were weighed in an equal balance; their diſpoſitions, their inclinations, were obſerved with a penetrating eye; they were

were placed in ſuch a ſituation, as leaving them mutual checks the one upon the other, ſhould keep them both to a certain degree dependent on the Company, and render their intereſts inſeparable from thoſe of the Engliſh.

Situation and character of the Rajah.

On the one hand ſtood Pertaub Sing, a Prince, whom the Engliſh had attacked without provocation, whom they had endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs of a throne, which he held by the nobleſt tenure—the unanimous choice of the principal men of his kingdom—but who, not contented with forgiving this unprovoked injury, had attached his Self to their cauſe, had ſupported their ally, had fought his and their battles.

Of the Nabob.

On the other hand ſtood Mohammed Ally, a Prince whom the Company had taken up a fugitive, without dominions, without troops, without friends: whom they had ſupported during three long and expenſive wars; whom they had reinſtated in the dominions acquired—no matter how—by his father; but who, during the very time he was ſo ſupported, and before he was ſo reinſtated, had ſhewn a manifeſt unwillingneſs to comply with his engagements; a manifeſt readineſs to ſacrifice the intereſts of his allies to his private views; a marked diſpoſition to attach his Self to the declared enemies of his protectors: who now, when he was reinſtated, gave many proofs, which did not eſcape the penetrating eye of Lord Pigot, that by extending his own dominions, and by encreaſing his own power, he would endeavour to ſhake off all dependence upon thoſe, to whom alone he ſtood indebted for the poſſeſſion of any dominions, for the enjoyment of any power.

Means adopted to attach them both to the Engliſh.

To reward the fidelity of the one, and to check the ambition as well as to enſure the fidelity of the other, Lord Pigot adopted the only effectual meaſure. He guarantied the kingdom of Tanjore to the Rajah Pertaub Sing, and to his deſcendants.

The

him the free exerciſe of that right, without which he ſcarcely could repair them; the right, I mean, of taking the earth from the country, dependent on Tritchinopoly but, bordering on the Cavery *. And yet, at this very time, the troops of Tanjore were fighting in his cauſe: attended Him in the expedition againſt Madura: contributed to the capture of Uſoff Khan (*p*).

1767. Orders of the Company to conciliate the differences between the King and the Nabob.

The Company ſaw the fatal conſequences which muſt enſue from a breach between the Nabob and the King of Tanjore: they felt how much it was their intereſt, that each ſhould be maintained in his proper rights: they knew, that the improvement and extenſion of their commerce on the coaſt depended on the peace of the Carnatic. Alarmed therefore at the apparent want of cordiality on the part of the Nabob, during a courſe of three years, They were frequent and earneſt in their inſtructions, to the Preſident and Council of Fort St. George, to enforce the treaty of 1762; to interpoſe and ſettle all diſputes, by which the letter or ſpirit of that treaty might be violated; to prevent one power from encroaching upon the other; and to loſe no opportunity of raiſing in the King of Tanjore the idea of a firm dependence on the friendſhip of the Company (*q*).

* The ſituation of the Coleroon and the Cavery, the neceſſity of keeping a ſtrong mound to ſeparate the two ſtreams, and conduct the branches of the Cavery into the Tanjore country, the reader may learn from Orme, vol. i. fol. 177, &c. and from General Lawrence's Narrative of the War in Coromandel, publiſhed by Mr. Cambridge, fol. 17, &c. Lawrence obſerves that, in the year 1754, this mound being cut by the enemy, though at a ſeaſon when it was *leaſt detrimental*, and though the breach was repaired within three months, the King of Tanjore ſuſtained damages by it to the amount of 50,000 l. The duplicity of the preſent Nabob, his oppreſſion of the Rajah on this point, the reader may learn from the letters to and from the government of Fort St. George, the Rajah, and the Nabob, in the years 1763, 1764, 1765. India Houſe.

(*p*) See ſeparate Letter from Fort St. George to the Court of Directors, dated 30th of Jan. 1765.—Likewiſe a Letter from the King of Tanjore to Governor Palk, dated April 10, 1764.

(*q*) See Appendix, A. Nº I. II. III.

Manœuvre employed by the Nabob to prevent obedience to thoſe orders.

That theſe directions of the Company were ill obeyed cannot I think be denied. As little can it be denied that the Nabob was ſuffered to carry many meaſures into execution, by which his dependence on the Engliſh was weakened. The reaſons, why thoſe orders were not more punctually obeyed, why thoſe meaſures were permitted, it may not, perhaps, be altogether ſo ſafe, as it might be eaſy, to aſſign. One thing we may venture to aſſert—for ſo it ſtands upon record—that ſome endeavours were uſed to ſeduce the integrity of the ſervants of the Company. For it ſtands upon record, that the Nabob contracted, or pretended to contract, debts with *individuals* to the amazing amount of more than Twenty Lacks of Pagodas: that he appointed ſervants of the Company truſtees for the recovery of thoſe debts; and as ſuch, put them in poſſeſſion of the collection of the revenues of part of the Carnatic (*r*). We may add—for ſo the Company have decided—that the ſervants of the Company, by accepting this truſt, avowed a private intereſt, directly oppoſite to that of the Company; and that too in a caſe, where their reſpective intereſts muſt continually come in competition (*s*).

Effects of it.

The effect of this management was ſoon, and ſenſibly perceived. To ſecure the payment of this debt to *individuals*, it was neceſſary to aggrandize Mohammed Ally. It was not enough that the forces, the influence, the authority of the Company were employed, by the ſervants of the Company, in collecting the revenues of the Nabob, mortgaged to their Selves: but to put him in poſſeſſion of the revenues of other countries, the Company was plunged into different wars: their forces, their influence, and their authority were employed in extending, to their own detriment, the dominions of the Nabob, that he might become a more reſponſible debtor to their own ſervants (*t*).

(*r*) See Commons Journals, vol. xxxiii. folio 843. (*s*) Ibid.
(*t*) See Ibid.

Having

He increaſes the number of his troops.

Having thus engaged the ſervants of the Company in private intereſts, incompatible with the intereſts of their employers, the Nabob went a ſtep farther: he encreaſed the number of his troops to ſuch a degree, as ſoon gave the Company the moſt ſenſible alarms. On thoſe troops he ſeemed now to rely for the defence of the Carnatic. Thoſe troops he ſeemed determined to employ to the farther extenſion of his own power, and to the total deſtruction of that balance, which alone could ſecure his dependence on the Company (*u*).

Refuſes to maintain the Seapoys under the command of the Company, and preſſes the recal of the Company's garriſon.

In vain was it, that the Directors called on their ſervants to concert a proper plan with the Nabob for regulating both the number and the pay of his military eſtabliſhment. In anſwer to this requiſition, he began by declaring, 1. That he would pay no Seapoys that ſhould be commanded and diſciplined by Engliſh Officers. 2dly. That the Engliſh garriſons *diſtreſſed him*; that whilſt they remained, he could not pay the Company's debt: he demanded therefore the *recall* of theſe garriſons (*x*).

Conduct of the ſervants of the Company with reſpect to the garriſons.

And, ſuch was the aſcendant which he had gained over the ſervants of the Company that, they *actually did* withdraw many of their garriſons, and were well nigh making an—ill-adviſed ſhall we call it, or a treacherous—engagement to withdraw *all the Company's troops*, ſtationed in the garriſons of the Carnatic (*y*).

With reſpect to the Seapoys.

On the firſt point too the ſervants of the Company relaxed. It had been agreed, that the Nabob ſhould maintain 10,000 Seapoys, to be diſciplined and commanded by the Officers of the Company. Theſe he wanted either to diſband; or to put them under his own Officers, and to pay them by his own Paymaſter. Devoted as the ſervants of the Company were become to the intereſts of the Nabob, they dared not conſent to a total, but they conſented to a partial reduction of his corps; they conſented to reduce the number

(*u*) See Ibid. Alſo Eighth Secret Report, fol. 202.
(*x*) Ibid. p. 204. (*y*) Ibid. p. 212.

to 7,000. This obtained, the Nabob returned again to the charge; again he propoſed to diſband them all. And that too at a time, when he pretended to be apprehenſive of farther attacks from Hyder Ally (z). "Nor" (ſay the ſervants of the Company) "was "this propoſition of the Nabob, which *ſo plainly indicated his* "*views towards independency, at all unexpected. The whole tenor of his* "*conduct of late has manifeſtly evinced, that this has been his object.*"

Endeavours to avail his Self of ſuppoſed differences between the Miniſtry and Company.

The Nabob has about him an Agent of the Scottiſh nation. This man had buoyed him up with the chimerical hope, that he ſhould be able to engage the Miniſtry in his intereſts, in oppoſition to the Company. Hence he became daily more and more intractable. "He is well appriſed" (ſay the Governor and Council) "of the contentions between the Miniſtry and the Company, "and means to avail his Self of ſo favourable an opportunity to "carry his project into execution (*a*)." In a word, his want of faith and honour, his unfavourable intentions to the Company, his total want of confidence in the Engliſh, the inſincerity of his profeſſions of friendſhip for them, his determined view, not only to render his Self independent but to control their meaſures, are repeatedly and ſtrongly ſet forth in a long ſeries of correſpondence (*b*).

Pretends parole agreements with Lord Pigot, and declares the treaty of 1762 to be forced from him.

To juſtify his refuſal to comply with the engagements he had made, he pretended certain parole agreements with Lord Pigot; agreements unſupported by any part of the country correſpondence, unſupported by any paper on record (*c*); agreements contradicted by the whole tenor of Lord Pigot's conduct, by the whole ſyſtem of his

(z) Ibid. p. 216. Great part of this report is taken up in ſtating the many evaſive and frivolous pretences, alleged by the Nabob to avoid ſupplying the neceſſities of the Company; neceſſities occaſioned by the ſupport of *his* government.

(*a*) Ibid. 214.

(*b*) Ibid. 215—216. And Appendix to this Report N° III. folio lxxiv. lxxv. And a Letter from the Nabob to Governor Dupré, dated 26th Nov. 1770, with the remarks of the Board thereon. India Houſe.

(*c*) See Appendix to the Eighth Secret Report, N° III. folio lxxiii.

policy.

policy.—Nay he went farther; he called in queſtion the validity of the treaty of 1762. He declared that he never conſented to that treaty, never affixed his ſeal to it; but Lord Pigot affixed it. That he ſigned it, he owns; but his ſignature was forced by Lord Pigot (*d*).

A circumſtance material to be obſerved.

And this is a circumſtance, which it is very material to obſerve: it furniſhes a clue to the Nabob's preſent conduct: it accounts for the rancour he expreſſes againſt his Lordſhip. Is it wonderful, that he ſhould tremble at the approach, that he ſhould ſhudder at the ſight, of a man, whoſe name he had abuſed to juſtify his own breach of faith!

Inconſiſtency of the government at Madraſs.

As I meant to take only a ſhort review of theſe tranſactions, I have but ſlightly touched upon theſe inſtances of the Nabob's diſaffection to the Engliſh, and his oppreſſion of the Rajah. Hence, however, we may judge of the general line of his conduct during that period which intervened between the depature of Lord Pigot for Europe after the concluſion of the treaty of 1762, and the firſt expedition againſt Tanjore in the year 1771. Here we ſee enough to be convinced that the Nabob never loſt ſight of his two favourite objects; the acquiſition of Tanjore; and the rendering his Self independent of the Engliſh. Indeed he artfully turned his diſputes with the government of Fort St. George to the advancement of his darling ſcheme; ſometimes inſinuating, ſometimes openly declaring, that, if Tanjore were his, he could then do all that the Company required. The acquiſition of Tanjore He ſeems to have conſidered as a previous meaſure, without which He could not be ſtrong enough to ſhake off his dependence on the Engliſh.

(*d*) See Abſtract, folio 5. The Nabob prudently waited till General Lawrence was dead before he brought this abſurd charge. All treaties which the Nabob diſlikes are *forced*, and therefore *null*. The treaty of 1769 he ſays was *forced*. The maxims "that all the treaties which are diſadvantageous are forced," and "that "all treaties forced are null," will, no doubt, be adopted in the Eaſtern Agent's *Code Diplomatique*.

And

And ſtrange no doubt it muſt appear, that the Governor and Council of Madraſs ſhould repreſent, in ſuch ſtrong terms, the little reliance they could have on the Nabob; his determined reſolution to adopt every meaſure which could render him independent of the Company, could enable him to controul the Company; and yet, at the very ſame time, ſhould co-operate with him in the execution of a meaſure which, in the event, could not fail to render the Engliſh dependent on the Nabob (*e*).

1768. Hyder Ally invades the Carnatic, and the Rajah ſummoned to ſend his troops to oppoſe Him;

We have ſeen what was the general tenor of the orders of the Company from the year 1763 to the year 1767. Let us now ſee how well they were obeyed. In the year 1768 Hyder Ally invaded the Carnatic. Were it neceſſary, it might eaſily be proved, even from the mutilated accompts of the government of Fort St. George, that this invaſion was the conſequence of miſconduct and injuſtice on the part of the Nabob and of the ſervants of the Company. The Nabob and the government of Fort St. George applied to the Rajah for aſſiſtance. But, whether through fear of the power and abilities of Hyder Ally, or from a conviction that juſtice was on his ſide, the King, for a time, refuſed to join in the war. During the courſe of the war, however, a body of his troops were ſent, and acted under Colonel Wood. This brought on Him the reſentment of Hyder; which the unfortunate Rajah was forced to appeaſe by the payment of four lacks of rupees, and by the ſacrifice of part of his jewels and elephants (*f*).

(*e*) See Appendix, A. N° V.

(*f*) See Letter from Governor Bourchier to the Nabob, dated 19th of April, 1768. And Letter from the Nabob to Mackoon Ally Cawn, dated 12th March, 1769. India Houſe. This buying off an enemy, whom He was not ſtrong enough to reſiſt, and whoſe reſentment He had incurred by aſſiſting the Nabob, is, by that very Nabob, candidly repreſented as an act of friendſhip to Hyder, as a voluntary gift of valuable preſents, as a ſupply of proviſions furniſhed with the expreſs purpoſe of enabling Hyder to carry the war to the gates of Madraſs. See Nabob's Letter, folio 25.

The

The ſuccour furniſhed by the Rajah, fell ſhort of the expectations, and ſhorter ſtill of the demands, of the Nabob: nor does it ſeem to have correſponded with the expectations of the Engliſh. This, then, was a moment, which the Nabob conceived would be favourable to his views. The Engliſh now, He hoped, would enter into his reſentment. And He diſcovered with too much quickneſs, and ſeized with too much eagerneſs, every occaſion of oppreſſing the Rajah, to let this paſs unheeded or unimproved. Accordingly We find Him preſſing Governor Bourchier to compel the Rajah to pay, at leaſt, *twenty five lacks of rupees*, as an acknowledgment for that ſecurity, which, after all, the Rajah had been forced to purchaſe of Hyder Ally; and as a compenſation for the deficiency in thoſe ſuccours, which, in the Nabob's eſtimation, the Rajah ought to have furniſhed (*g*).

But not concurring heartily, the Nabob propoſes to extort money from him.

But this propoſal was declined by the governor. In the firſt place by no treaty, to which the Company was guarantee, had the Rajah ſtipulated what number of troops he was to furniſh: In the next place, a body of Tanjoreans was then in their ſervice, acting with Colonel Wood. Mr. Bourchier, therefore, did not think his Self authoriſed to exact any ſum, beyond the ſtipulated tribute; or to aſſume the power of dictating to the Rajah, what number of troops He ſhould furniſh, or what proportion of contingent and extraordinary expences He ſhould bear. He conſented, however, that application ſhould be made to the Rajah; that He ſhould be *urged* to comply with the demands of the Nabob.

Which Governor Bourchier declines.

One thing deſerves to be remarked. In the beginning of the diſputes between the King and the Nabob, the demands of both parties, and the reaſons alleged in ſupport of them, were fairly repreſented to the Company at home: But, during the courſe of the diſpute, the caſe ſeems to have altered: The claims and the reaſons of the Nabob found their way to the Company as uſual;

1769. March 17. Order obtained from the Company to compel the Rajah to contribute to the expences of the war.

(*g*) See Letter from the Nabob to Governor Bourchier, dated and received March 9th, 1768. India Houſe.

but

but thoſe of the Rajah ſeem to have miſcarried. For to this, I preſume, we muſt attribute the order, which, pending the war with Hyder Ally, was obtained from the Company. The order enjoined the Governor and Council "to give the Nabob ſuch ſupport, in his "pretenſions on the Rajah of Tanjore, as might be effectual; "and, if the Rajah refuſed to contribute a juſt proportion to the "expences of the war then, to purſue ſuch meaſures, as the Na-"bob ſhould think conſiſtent with the juſtice, and dignity of his "government (*h*)."

1769. Treaty with Hyder Ally, in which the Rajah is included.

This order was dated the 17th of March 1769. On the 3d of April in the ſame year a period was put to the war, and a treaty of perpetual friendſhip and peace was concluded with Hyder Ally. By the firſt article of this treaty it is ſtipulated, "that "Peace and Friendſhip ſhall take place between the contracting "parties; particularly including therein the Rajah of Tanjore, "&c. *who are friends, and allies, to the Carnatic* (*i*)." This, ſurely, is not the deſcription of a man, who had refuſed to defend the Carnatic; who had intrigued with its enemies; who had invited and ſupported an invaſion! The manuſcripts of the Nabob will not, I preſume, be of greater avail, than the public acts of the Company.

1770. March 23. In conſequence of which, the Company recalls their former order.

Whether this article was propoſed by Mr. Dupré, or by Hyder, is not material to the preſent queſtion. There are letters, in which the former aſſumes the merit of having included the Rajah in this treaty. The truth, however, ſeems to be, that the merit belongs to Hyder. Be that as it may: whether it was propoſed, or ſimply accepted, by Mr. Dupré, the effect of it was the ſame. It was a public recognition, that every thing offenſive in the conduct of the Rajah—if indeed his conduct had been offenſive—during the courſe of that war, was done away. It ſhould have been an effectual ſhelter againſt any reſentment on the part either of the Nabob or of the Engliſh. In this light it was conſidered by the Com-

(*h*) See Nabob's Letter, fol. 7.
(*i*) See this treaty in the Secret Reports.

pany.

pany. They no longer thought their Selves at liberty to compel the Rajah to contribute a ſingle rupee towards defraying the charges of the war. So They expreſs their Selves in their letter to Fort St. George (*k*). They add—"Our former orders, therefore, "in this reſpect, relative to the King of Tanjore, muſt be *ſuſ-* "*pended*, becauſe they are, by your conduct, rendered utterly im- "poſſible to be carried into execution, without committing a "breach of the treaty You have lately concluded."

The Rajah urges the aſſiſtance He had given againſt Hyder Ally as a motive for making deductions in his tribute.

So far was the Rajah from conceiving, that the Nabob had any juſt reaſon of complaint againſt Him for his conduct, during the courſe of this war, that He urges the aſſiſtance He had given, and the loſſes He had ſuſtained in it, as motives for exempting Him from the payment of the current tribute, for one year. The amount of his expences and loſſes He eſtimates at ten lacks of rupees (*l*). With this requeſt the Nabob was far from complying. He had indeed aſſigned over the tribute, before it was due to the truſtees of his creditors, and then he called upon the Rajah for the loan of a lack of pagodas, and for a ſupply of three thouſand horſe (*m*). As far was the Rajah from advancing the ſums required by the Nabob. On the contrary he inſiſted on it as a matter of right, confirmed by expreſs ſtipulation, that the batta and all the extraordinary expences of the troops, He had furniſhed, ſhould be deducted from the annual Peſcaſh.

This demand treated with contempt by the Nabob and the Servants of the Company.

This demand the Nabob treated with contempt. And ſuch was his influence over the Servants of the Company, that, at his requeſt, they refuſed to enter into the examination of this agreement, real, or ſuppoſed; refuſed to admit the Miniſter of the Rajah. "When the Nabob," ſays the Rajah, "marched over the Ghaut

(*k*) See ſeparate Letter, dated March 23, 1770. India Houſe.

(*l*) See Letter from the King of Tanjore to Governor Bourchier, received Auguſt 31, 1769. India Houſe.

(*m*) See Letter from the Nabob to the Rajah, dated March 12, 1769. India Houſe.

" to invade Hyder Ally, both he, and the Engl ſh, deſired that " I would aſſiſt him with money and troops: this *I accordingly did.* " It was *agreed* that the common pay of the forces, I ſent to the " Nabob, ſhould be paid by me; but *that the extraordinary ex-* " *pences, and batta, ſhould be deducted from the annual Peſcaſh.* " When I endeavoured to ſettle with the Nabob in this manner, " he would not look at my accompts, but declared to the Gen- " tlemen, then in the government, that I refuſed to pay the Pef- " caſh. I made every circumſtance of my caſe known to my Va- " keel at Madraſs, and commanded him to lay them before the " Gentlemen in charge of the Company's affairs. *But the Nabob* " *would not allow my Vakeel to go near them* (*n*)."

The Nabob aſſigns the tribute, due from the Rajah to the truſtees of his creditors.

The ſame language, which the Rajah now holds in this Letter to the Directors, He held at the time to the Servants of the Company. The Nabob, We have ſeen, had aſſigned the tribute, due from the Rajah to the truſtees of his creditors: the Rajah inſiſted then, as he inſiſts now, that deductions ought to have been made, and that, till thoſe deductions were either allowed, or after a fair examination rejected, it was unjuſt to inſiſt on his payment of the tribute. The truſtees called upon the Nabob to pay the money; and to Him they ſaid it belonged to enforce payment from the Rajah. He ſaw at once the uſe He might make of this hint, and he therefore ſeiſed it with eagerneſs.—" The Governor, and Coun- " cil," He ſaid, " were guarantees for the payment of the tribute: " it became Them to ſend for it, at a limited time, and to pay it " over to his aſſignees.—If not, They *ſhould take off* their gua- " ranty; and then, by the *bleſſing of God*, He ſhould receive his " Peſcaſh money, *more than the uſual*, according to the old " cuſtom (*o*)."

(*n*) See the Rajah's Letter to the Directors. India Houſe.

(*o*) See Letter from Meſſrs Call, Bourchier, and Mackay to the Nabob, dated 5th September, and the Nabob's Anſwer, dated 29th September, 1769. India Houſe. In the letters he writes on this occaſion, he makes a merit of his *free conſent* to the Treaty of 1762: to which, at other times, he pretends not to have conſented.

Whileſt

1771. Expedition of the Rajah againſt the Poligars of Marawar and Nalcooty.

Whileſt this matter was depending, another tranſaction gave offence to the Nabob, and furniſhed a new occaſion of accuſing the Rajah. Certain Poligars, in the diſtricts of Marawar and Nalcooty, with-held from the Rajah certain dues to which He pretended a right; made incurſions into the country of Tanjore; inſulted the people, and ſeized the elephants of the Rajah. The Rajah did not immediately reſent the injury. He applied to the Engliſh: but finding no redreſs from them, he marched with his own troops to puniſh the invaders, and recover what He aſſerted to be his rights. The Nabob on the other hand pretended, that theſe diſtricts depended upon Him, as Kellidar of Tritchinopoly, and conſtrued this expedition into a breach of the treaty of 1762.

Line of conduct which the government of Madraſs ought to have purſued.

Whether the claims of the Rajah were well or ill founded, is not the queſtion We are now to examine. But moſt certainly it ought to have been carefully examined at the time. The King declared his Self ready and willing to ſettle affairs with the Nabob, under the mediation and guaranty of the Servants of the Company. And ſurely the line of conduct, which, after ſuch a declaration, thoſe Servants ought to have purſued, was too plain to be overlooked. In fact, and it is very remarkable, They did not overlook it: They ſaw, They approved, but They had not courage to purſue it. Let them ſpeak their own words. "Had your govern-
"ment here ſtood in ſuch a degree of confidence with their conſti-
"tuents, as that They might have entertained a reaſonable hope
"of ſupport and juſtification in an impartial and ſpirited conduct,
"the part They ſhould have taken, ought, no doubt, to have been
"this. Upon the Rajah's complaint, that He was entitled to an
"indemnification for the expences He ſuſtained in the aſſiſtance
"given to the Nabob in the late war, and that the Marawar and
"Nalcooty Poligars with-held from him his juſt rights; on the
"other hand, the Nabob complaining, that the Rajah with-held
"the Peſcaſh unjuſtly, had no right to the indemnification He
"demanded, nor any juſt claim on Marrawar and Nalcooty: this

" government, as guarantees, ought to have marched a force to " maintain peace between the complaining parties, to have re- " quired deputies from both, to ſtate the demands of each reſpec- " tively, and, upon a fair diſcuſſion, to have decided between " them, and to have enforced the deciſion, whether in favour of " the Nabob or in favour of the Rajah: your government here " did not dare to act ſuch a part. It was plain from your orders to " this Committee, under date 17th March, 1769, as well as ſub- " ſequent orders, that You thought the Rajah ſtood in a degree of " favour with this government, which You did not approve; and " that You adopted all the Nabob's ideas of levying crores as an " equitable pretenſion, becauſe other Soubahs had done ſo. At " the ſame time the miniſter of the crown, ranging him Self on " the ſide of the Nabob, received all his complaints againſt the " Rajah as goſpel . . . . . and accuſed Us of with-holding that " aſſiſtance from the Nabob which our truſt required (p)."

Line of conduct which They did purſue.

Inſtead of purſuing a plan, ſo conformable to the intereſts of the Company and to the honour of the nation; inſtead of acting this bold and manly part, what did the Servants of the Company? They gave their Selves up as tools into the hands of the Nabob: They ſunk into the mere inſtruments of his ambition and revenge. And that the meaſure of diſgrace might be full, They not only ſhrunk back from what they ſaw and felt to be their duty, but They took to their Selves the additional ſhame of ſeeking ſhelter behind the order of 1769. This order, we have ſeen, regarded ſolely the proportion to be contributed by the Rajah during the war with Hyder Ally. It was made on a ſuggeſtion, which we have ſeen to be falſe, that the Rajah had refuſed to contribute to that war. The plain meaning of it was to obtain ſuch a contribution from the Rajah, if poſſible, by friendly repreſentations; if that could not be, by force. With the occaſion of the order, the

(p) See Select Letter from Fort St. George, dated 28 February, 1772. India Houſe.

order

order ceaſed. The Rajah had ſince been included by the Company in the treaty with Hyder Ally. By acknowledging him, at that moment, in that treaty, to be a friend of the Carnatic, they acknowledged either that he had contributed during the war concluded by that treaty; or had atoned for his neglect: how elſe how was he a friend of the Carnatic? They acknowledged then that the object of the order was fulfilled. The Company, we have ſeen, had accordingly *recalled the order*. But the Council, in their great wiſdom, thought proper to revive it, to extend it to another object, to apply it to another occaſion. In their great wiſdom they ſuppoſed it to imply, not that they were to compel the Rajah to pay money for a certain occaſion but, that, on any or on no occaſion, they were to ſtrip him of his dominions; and to conſer thoſe dominions on the Nabob, whoſe farther aggrandiſement they had been conſtantly and uniformly commanded to prevent.

1771. Expedition againſt Tanjore.

The Nabob complained of the Rajah; the Rajah of the Nabob. The Rajah deſired to be heard by his Vakeel: but the Gentlemen in charge of the Company's affairs, did not think it right to hear the Vakeel, to ſee the Vakeel of the Rajah, to examine the accounts of the Rajah, to mediate between him and the Nabob. They turned back to this order which had been recalled; and concluded with the Nabob, that, in virtue thereof, nothing leſs could be conſiſtent with the dignity and juſtice of his Government, than to march their united troops againſt the Rajah.

Treaty between the Rajah and the Nabob.

Their united troops the unhappy Rajah could not reſiſt. No choice was left but to periſh, or to capitulate. A negociation therefore was propoſed. The natural negociators were the Servants of the Company; for the Company was Guaranty of the treaty which was ſaid to be infringed. But the Gentlemen in charge of the Company's affairs left it to the Nabob, *a party in the diſpute*, to fix his own terms. And the unfortunate Rajah was forced to purchaſe a diſhonourable peace at the expence of fifty-two lacks

lacks of rupees (*q*). Of this ſum two lacks were partly diſtributed in preſents to the Nabob's ſon, and partly applied to ſatisfy the expences of the *Gentlemen in charge of the Company's affairs*, and to pay other incidental charges, in which too, no doubt, the *Gentlemen in charge of the Company's affairs* muſt have been, in ſome degree, intereſted. Of the fifty lacks, ſtipulated to be paid to the Nabob, we cannot ſuppoſe them to have had any ſhare.

Reaſons why the Nabob deferred the capture of Tanjore.

"That the Nabob had conſtantly had in view the conqueſt of "Tanjore, will not admit of a doubt (*r*)." That in this expedition, Tanjore might have been conquered is equally clear. That he did not conquer it, that he accepted *this very moderate ranſom*, is urged, by his Self and by his Agent, as a proof of his clemency. But the real motive of his conduct was very different. When the troops of the Engliſh were on the point of taking poſſeſſion of the place, He was alarmed; He was jealous of the Company: He was fearful, "that They would find a convenient opportunity to take "the country from Him (*s*)." His influence over the Servants of the Company was already very great, but his confidence in Them was not unlimited. In a letter, written long after this expedition, He calls them "*villains* (*t*)." At that time, then, he would not truſt Them. Stopping where He did, He obtained much, and paved his way for more.

Steps taken to prepare the way for a ſecond expedition.

By the treaty He obtained a large ſum of money. And in his breaſt avarice ſeems to hold an equal ſway with ambition. He had weakened, if He had not removed, the reſtraints which the guaranty of the Company had impoſed on Him: For He alone concluded the treaty of 1771: No mention was made of the Com-

(*q*) About 620,000 l. Sterling.

(*r*) See Letter from Fort St. George Select Conſultations, 22d June, 1773. India Houſe.

(*s*) See Ibid.

(*t*) See the beginning of the Second Section of the Defence.

pany.

pany. He knew that the Morattoes, under pretence of relieving Tanjore, would make a ſhew of invading the Carnatic: for before the expedition againſt Tanjore, He was in correſpondence with Trimbeck Row; regulated their motions; fixed the bribe, which was to be the price of their neutrality (*u*). This invaſion He might, hereafter, repreſent as "the effect of the reſtleſs, "and treacherous, ſpirit of the Rajah."—Letters might be fabricated to ſupport the charge (*x*). The Rajah, He knew, could not rely on a treaty, for the performance of which He had no better ſecurity than the word of the Nabob. The money, ſtipulated by the treaty, could not be raiſed without the mortgage of the lands of the Rajah: and this might throw Him into the hands of the Dutch, or the Danes, or the French: oppreſſion will make a wiſe man mad. He had, therefore, hopes, that, deprived of the ſupport of the Engliſh, the Rajah might look to other quarters for aſſiſtance. To the Dutch, and to the Danes, the Rajah was compelled to apply. He was obliged to mortgage, and afterwards to ſell, certain diſtricts, in order to raiſe the money, extorted by the Nabob. And this—mark it reader—is among the crimes alleged againſt Him. Connections with other powers were ſuppoſed: intrigues at other courts invented: people employed at Poonah to perſonate the character of Vakeel to the Rajah. The Servants of the Company were ſtaggered at theſe accumulated artifices.—And their conduct, on this occaſion, was juſt as unmanly, as it had been on the former. Inſtead of calling on the Rajah to anſwer theſe improbable charges, his Vakeel was not permitted *even to viſit the Preſident*. Inſtead of firmly ſupporting the character of Guarantees, They gravely urged their paſt, as an excuſe for their preſent timidity; and becauſe They had been unjuſt to the Rajah, They now conclude it "*proper and expedient* totally to reduce "Him (*y*)."

(*u*) See Proceedings of a Committee at Fort St. George, 5 December, 1771—preſent Meſſrs. Dupré, Haſtings, and Ardley.

(*x*) See Nabob's Letter, fol. 29.

(*y*) See Select Conſultations at Fort St. George, 22d June 1773.

Mean

New conqueſts of the Nabob and ſums received in conſequence of the treaty of 1771.

Mean while the Nabob was ſtrengthening his Self by the conqueſt of other countries. One of the pretences for the expedition of 1771, was to protect the Marawar and Nalcooty Poligars againſt the King of Tanjore. The expedition againſt Tanjore was then urged as a reaſon for attacking theſe Poligars. By the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh troops theſe unfortunate people were cut off. Nor had the Nabob been inattentive to the receipt of the money ſtipulated to be paid by the treaty of 1771. Of the fifty lacks to be paid to the Nabob, twelve lacks and a half were paid down. In the courſe of two years; by pledging his jewels, and mortgaging ſome lands to the Dutch and the Danes, the unfortunate Rajah contrived to pay twenty-five lacks and a half more. There then remained twelve lacks to be paid: that once paid, the Nabob declared he ſhould be ſatisfied. In caſe of non-payment, he threatened another viſit to Tanjore. During the courſe of theſe two years, it ſhould be added, the Rajah paid eight lacks more, being the amount of his *current tribute* ſtipulated by the *treaty of* 1762.

Conduct of Mr. Benfield and his agent, relative to the payment of the laſt inſtalment.

It happened, that one *Comera*, a Dubaſh of the virtuous Mr. *Benfield*, was at Tanjore, when the Nabob threatened a ſecond viſit. This Comera, ſervant of Mr. Benfield, was employed *in lending money on mortgages*. To him the Rajah addreſſed his Self; through him he mortgaged to Mr. Benfield ſome diſtricts, which had been formerly mortgaged to the Nabob, and obtained from Comera, draughts on his maſter, Mr. Benfield, payable at Madraſs for the twelve lacks, which by the treaty of 1771, were ſtill to be paid.

They are gained by the Nabob and deny their own acts.

But it was not the intention of the Nabob to receive this laſt inſtalment. His confidence in the Servants of the Company was increaſed. And he now determined at all events, to get poſſeſſion of Tanjore. He therefore ſent for the Dubaſh, and by *proper application*, prevailed on him to *deny* that he gave the draughts: by *proper applications* he raiſed unexpected ſcruples in the breaſt of the delicate

delicate Mr. Benfield. Though he now avows, that he has *mortgages to a conſiderable amount in the Tanjore country*; yet then, in a more enlightened moment, he diſcovered that it *was his duty*, as *a ſervant obedient to the orders of the Company*, to reject any propoſal of lending money on mortgages. He does not indeed deny that the bills were drawn on Him: he allows them to have been drawn and actually ſent to the Nabob (*z*): ſo far he contradicts his agent. But he ſeems not to know, who it was that drew them. His *own ſervant* Comera dwindles, in his account, into an undeſcribable creature without a name; *a black man to the ſouthward*, with whom the virtuous Mr. Benfield had indeed *ſome mercantile concerns* (*a*).

Remark on this proceeding.

It is impoſſible to read this tranſaction without the ſtrongeſt mixture of contempt and indignation—What! was it the duty of Mr. Benfield, *as a ſervant obedient to the orders of the Company*, to refuſe to lend money on mortgages, even though, by lending it, he might have preſerved the peace of the Carnatic? And ſhall he dare to avow that he *has lent* money on mortgages when, by lending it, he involves the Carnatic in confuſion; impedes the execution of the Company's orders; ſows diſſenſions among its ſervants; and riſks all our poſſeſſions on the Coaſt of Coromandel? Who was this black man to the ſouthward, who drew on Mr. Benfield without his authority? Mr. Benfield had ſome *mercantile* concerns with him:—He knew his name then. Why not tell it? Why not produce the man? Why not apply to have him puniſhed? Why not even deny that it was his *own ſervant*; Comera, his own Dubaſh, who was at that very time employed to lend money on mortgages?

1773. The Nabob takes advant-

But the Nabob had gained his end. The money was not paid. The Vakeel of the Rajah was treated, by the Nabob, with the

(*z*) See Company's Letter recalling Mr. Wynch, fol. 9.

(*a*) See Appendix to Lord Pigot's Narrative, fol. xxxi. xxxii. Alſo a Letter from the Rajah to the Directors. India Houſe.

age of it, and again invades Tanjore.

higheſt inſolence. No regard was paid by the *gentlemen at Madraſs* to the repreſentations of the King of Tanjore. This Vakeel we have ſeen was not permitted to come near them. No meaſures were taken to aſcertain the truth of the declarations of the Nabob. Not in poſſeſſion of a ſingle fact, which could make it neceſſary to break the peace of 1771, the Council determined to renew the attack upon Tanjore, ſtipulating again to leave the King and his family to the diſpoſition of the Nabob. The Engliſh troops, yet reeking with the blood of the innocent Poligars, were ſent, with the army of the Nabob, to deſolate another ally (*b*): an ally too, who, at *the time* they acknowledged, "*if the Company would* "*give him proofs of impartial juſtice, would be firmly bounden to its* "*intereſts* (*c*)."

Tanjore taken and pillaged, and the Rajah impriſoned.

Tanjore was taken; the Rajah and his family put in cloſe confinement. He was ſtript of his cloaths, his jewels, his elephants, his horſes, and every thing about him that was valuable. His Fort was plundered, his Treaſury, his Armory. Every thing, which the Eaſt holds ſacred, was violated: the apartments of the women were forced, their perſons ſtripped of the ornaments they wore. Effects to the amount of ten millions of pagodas were carried off. The revenues of the country, during the two years and a half that the Nabob uſurped it, amounted to fifty lacks of pagodas more. For the Nabob, uncertain how long he might maintain his uſurpation, reduced the inhabitants to the utmoſt poverty and diſtreſs (*d*).

And the ſyſtem of government eſ-

Nor was the Rajah the only ſufferer. The whole ſyſtem of the Carnatic government, ſo wiſely planned by Mr. Saunders, ſo ſtea-

(*b*) See the Directors Letter recalling Mr. Wynch, fol. 8, 9, 10.

(*c*) Ibid. fol. 7. Theſe are the very words of the Council who at that time were about to ruin the Rajah.

(*d*) See the Rajah's Letter to the Directors, India Houſe. See alſo the Appendix to Lord Pigot's Narrative, fol. 33.

dily

dily purſued and ſo happily eſtabliſhed by Lord Pigot, was at once overturned. The Engliſh had no longer any check on the ambition of the Nabob; they had no longer at their devotion a country, whoſe fertility had ſo often furniſhed ſupplies, and whoſe cavalry had ſo often inſured conqueſt to their armies. Conſiſtence was given to the power, compactneſs to the dominions, of a Prince, who only wanted thoſe advantages to enable him to control the Company.

tabliſhed in the Carnatic overturned.

Such was the ſtate of the Carnatic when the Eaſt India Company ſent Lord Pigot to Madraſs.

DEFENCE OF LORD PIGOT.

SECTION I.

Orders carried out by Lord Pigot to Madraſs.

FROM this review of the ſtate of the Carnatic, when Lord Pigot was ſent out, we may judge of the meaning and ſpirit of the orders, for the due execution of which the Company relied, in no ſmall degree, upon the ſeaſonable exertion of thoſe peculiar abilities, for which they declare him to be ſo juſtly and eminently diſtinguiſhed. Meaning and ſpirit of the orders given to Lord Pigot.

It was the intention of the Company to return to that ſyſtem, for the government of their affairs on the coaſt of Coromandel, which had been eſtabliſhed by Lord Pigot in the year 1762. To return to the ſyſtem of 1762.

The reduction of Tanjore, and the placing of that country under the management and controul of the Nabob, they conſidered as a material and dangerous violation of this ſyſtem. Reduction of Tanjore a Violation of this ſyſtem.

1ſt. Becauſe it was contrary to this ſyſtem to extend the poſſeſſions of the Nabob.

2dly. Becauſe it was a part of this ſyſtem, that no opportunity ſhould be loſt of raiſing, in the King of Tanjore, ideas of firm dependence on the friendſhip of the Company.

On theſe two points, the Directors declare, they had been uniform in their orders and inſtructions: and, in ſupport of this declaration, They appeal to the diſpleaſure They had teſtified againſt former Governors, and former Councils, for having diſregarded ſuch orders and inſtructions (*a*).

The reduction of Tanjore, and the placing of it under the management of the Nabob, appeared to be a violation of the ſyſtem adopted in 1762.

3dly. Becauſe—as the Directors ſay it was *well known* to thoſe upon the ſpot—*the oppreſſions exerciſed by the Nabob in his own dominions, and his inveterate hatred to the King of Tanjore,* were ſuch as would make the Tanjoreans ſubmit to any power whatever, rather than to that of the Nabob (*b*).

4thly. Becauſe the putting of Tanjore under the management of the Nabob—an impropriety, of which the Directors obſerve the ſervants of the Company were *ſufficiently aware*—was giving him ſuch an increaſe of power, as ſhould have been prevented, becauſe it could not afterwards be controled (*c*).

The Company therefore declare the treaty of

The Company were careful that their intentions ſhould not be miſtaken, anxious that Lord Pigot and his Council might tho-

(*a*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 1.—See alſo the Introduction and Appendix, A.
(*b*) Ibid. fol. 1, 2.—And Appendix, D.
(*c*) Ibid. fol. 6, 7.—And Appendix, A. No. V.

roughly

roughly underſtand them. To this purpoſe they examine attentively the conduct of their ſervants in the year 1771. And here they, over and over again, repeat that the treaty of 1762 was ſtill in force; not annulled by the treaty of 1769 (*d*). They therefore inſiſt—that their former Governor and Council ought to have interpoſed, between the Nabob and the Rajah, as *guarantees* of that treaty; but no otherwiſe—That, watching over the accompliſhment of the ſtipulations contained in that treaty, They ought to have preferred the way of *mediation* to the way of *arms*.—That the King of Tanjore having, by his Vakeel, declared his Self *willing* and *ready* to ſettle all diſputes between him and the Nabob, under their mediation, they were not juſtified in recurring to arms in the year 1771 (*e*).—That, whether acting by the more humane and advantageous mode of mediation or by the more violent and deſtructive mode of arms, they ought never to have *extended* their *views beyond the accompliſhment* of the ſtipulations of the treaty of 1762.—That, *on no account or pretence, under no circumſtances whatever, ought they to have put the Nabob in poſſeſſion of Tanjore (f)*.—That, ſuppoſing the Rajah to have refuſed to comply with the terms of this treaty of 1762, ſuppoſing no mode of enforcing his compliance to have remained but that of arms, and ſuppoſing the event to have been the *ſubduing* of the Rajah, it would then have been their duty, becauſe it would then have been the only meaſure compatible with the ſyſtem adopted in 1762, either to reſtore the Rajah, or to put ſome other more fit perſon of his family on the throne (*g*)—That the former Governor and Council were too well apprized of the ſentiments of the Company on this important buſineſs, to have holden out to it any other plan of operation—That, in fact, theſe were the very arrangements which They had holden out to the Company, as *concerted* between Them and the Nabob, when they were going upon the expedition in 1771 (*h*).

1762 to be ſtill in force, and condemn the expedition in 1771.

(*d*) Ibid. fol. 2—5, &c.
(*e*) Ibid. fol. 3. 6.
(*f*) Ibid. fol. 3. 5, 6.
(*g*) Ibid. fol. 4.
(*h*) Ibid. fol. 4, 6, 7, 8.

The

And blame the conduct of their former Governor and Council;

The Directors go on to ſpeak, in terms of warmth and reproach, of the diſingenuity of the former Governor and Council, in having ſwerved from theſe arrangements, without the conſent of the Company (*i*): They condemn, as unwarrantable, the engagement of ceding to the Nabob whatever ſhould be taken from the King (*k*): They declare their Selves bounden not to ſuffer the Nabob to exact, by the treaty of 1771, any conditions not provided by the treaty of 1762 (*l*): And They finiſh their cenſures, on the proceedings in 1771, by declaring that the increaſe of the Nabob's power could not, from their own ſhewing, be juſtified as an act of *political neceſſity*: and that the ſacrificing of the Rajah to the reſentment of the Nabob *was contrary to every principle of juſtice, policy, and humanity* (*m*).

and the expedition of 1773, for which they diſplace the late Governor and reprimand the Council.

Having condemned, in ſuch ſtrong terms and upon ſuch good grounds, the proceedings of their Governor and Council in 1771, their cenſures of the proceedings in 1773 are conveyed in terms ſtill more forcible, and pointed. And, as a proof how very ſerious They were in their reſentment, They proceed to *diſplace* the Governor, and *ſeverely reprimand* the Council (*n*).

Preſcribe the line of conduct to be purſued by

Having thus deſcribed the line which the late Governor and his Council ought to have purſued; having particularly marked and

(*i*) Ibid. fol. 3, 4. (*k*) Ibid. fol. 5. (*l*) Ibid. fol. 6.

(*m*) Ibid. fol. 6.—The Appendix will amply juſtify theſe aſſertions.

(*n*) Ibid. fol. 10, 11.—The difference of puniſhment inflicted on the Governor and Council, is remarkable: the Governor is *diſplaced:* the Council *reprimanded.* It will ſcarcely be contended, that the directors ſuppoſed the Governor more incorrigible than the Council, or leſs ſenſible to the diſgrace of a reprimand. Why then *diſplace* Him, and only *reprimand* the others. Was he more culpable? What proof appears? None, but what may be inferred from one ſuppoſition: namely, that the Directors conceived Him to ſtand in a more *reſponſible* ſituation than the Council. If the Directors ſuppoſed his *ſituation* to be more *reſponſible*, they muſt have ſuppoſed that, without which it could not be ſo:—*that his power was more extenſive in its degree; leſs dependent in its exerciſe.*—Let the opponents of Lord Pigot reflect on this.

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censured his and their deviations from it, the Directors go on to chalk out to Lord Pigot and to his Council, the line which it was expected that He and They ſhould purſue.

Lord Pigo and his Council.

They were, *without loſs of time*, to take the moſt effectual meaſures for ſecuring the perſon of the King of Tanjore: *forthwith* to appoint a proper guard for the protection of his Self and family; to inform Him, that the Company had determined to replace Him upon the throne of his anceſtors, upon certain terms, and conditions, for the mutual benefit of his Self, and of the Eaſt India Company (*o*).

Direct Them *forthwith* to reſtore the Rajah, on certain conditions.

The conditions on the part of the King of Tanjore were to be:

Conditions on the part of the Rajah.

I. That He punctually pay to the Nabob the tribute ſtipulated by the treaty of 1762.

II. That He admit a garriſon of the Company's troops into the fort of Tanjore.

III. That He aſſign to the Company revenues ſufficient for the maintenance of thoſe troops, for the providing of military ſtores neceſſary to the defence of the garriſon, for the repair of fortifications, and for other contingent expences; and that He engage to make good the deficiency, if the revenues ſo aſſigned ſhould prove inſufficient (*p*).

IV. That, if at any time the Rajah require the aſſiſtance of the troops either of the Nabob or of the Company, all extraordinary expences incurred thereby, be paid by the Rajah, over and above the aforeſaid charges of the garriſon (*q*).

(*o*) Ibid. fol. 20, 21.
(*p*) Ibid. fol. 21, 22, 23.
(*q*) Ibid. fol. 22

V. That no other troops be permitted to reſide in the city of Tanjore, ſave only thoſe of the Company, and ſuch a number of native guards as the Governor and Council may think neceſſary for ſupporting the dignity of his Majeſty's government; which number the King of Tanjore, is on no account or pretence whatever, to augment (*r*).

VI. That he conclude no treaty with foreign powers without the concurrence of the Company; form no alliance to the prejudice of the Company; give no aid or aſſiſtance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of the Britiſh nation.

Conditions on the part of the Company.

On the part of the Company, the conditions were to be:

I. That the authority of the King of Tanjore over his ſubjects be in no wiſe diminiſhed; nor any Officer or Servant of the Company interfere in the affairs of his government (*s*).

II. That every three months, or, if he deſire it, oftener, particular accompts of the expences of the garriſon be laid before the King of Tanjore, in which accompts no extravagant or improper charges are to be allowed (*t*).

III. That, ſo often as the annual amount of expenditure for theſe charges ſhall be leſs than the annual amount of the revenues aſſigned to the Company, the ſurplus of ſuch revenues be faithfully returned to his Majeſty.

IV. That all diſputes reſpecting contingent or other expences be finally adjuſted by the Agents of the King of Tanjore and the Preſident and Council (*u*).

(*r*) Ibid. fol. 22.
(*s*) Ibid. fol. 1.
(*t*) Ibid. fol. 22.
(*u*) Ibid. fol. 22.

V. That

That no works or repairs whatever, to be conducted by the Engineer of the Company at the expence of the King of Tanjore, be undertaken without his approbation and consent, signified in writing, after an estimate made of the charge to be incurred; and the full approbation of the measure by the Governor and Council (*x*).

VI. That the troops, to be maintained by the King of Tanjore, be employed in his defence alone.

VII. That no greater portion of revenue be assigned to the Company than shall be deemed absolutely necessary for the support of the Company's garrison (*y*).

VIII. That the Rajah be not obliged to comply with any requisition for troops in time of war, unless the Governor and Council join with the Nabob in making such requisition (*z*).

IX. That the quota to be furnished by the Rajah to the Circar be limited to such supplies as shall, on all occasions, be deemed just and reasonable by the Governor and Council (*a*).

X. That the charge of such quota, if defrayed by the King, be deducted from the annual tribute to be paid to the Nabob (*b*).

In case of the death of the King of Tanjore,

So anxious were the Court of Directors to prevent Tanjore from remaining in the hands of the Nabob, that they go on to instruct

(*x*) Ibid. fol. 22.

(*y*) Ibid. fol. 23. The Court of Directors seems to have meant for the support of the garrison, the repairs of the fortification, and other incidental charges: as will appear by the preceding references. The Court of Directors, like other great bodies which one might name, has a mode of doing business so peculiarly its own, that a plain man does not always understand it. For that reason I have ventured to transpose the order of their instructions, so as to bring them under their proper heads.

(*z*) Ibid. fol. 23. (*a*) Ibid. fol. 24. (*b*) Ibid.

the Governor and Council in the ſteps they were to take in caſe the King of Tanjore ſhould not be living, when the Company's orders ſhould arrive at Fort George: An event which was rendered probable from the *oppreſſions* exerciſed by the Nabob and *from his inveterate hatred to the Rajah.*

They are to place another of the royal line on the throne.

In ſuch caſe the Governor and Council are directed *forthwith* to place the next of the royal line, or ſome other proper perſon of the family of the King of Tanjore, upon the throne of his anceſtors; under the ſame terms and conditions as were to be made with the King, if living (*c*).

To carry theſe orders into *immediate* execution.

To prevent the execution of theſe orders from being delayed under pretence of ſettling any demands which the Nabob might form upon the Rajah; to prevent the Nabob's remaining a moment longer in poſſeſſion of a country which he had ſo unjuſtly uſurped, the Directors go on to declare:

To pay no regard to any claim of the Nabob, for arrears of tribute before 1771, or for the expedition in 1771.

That the Nabob could now have no claim upon the Rajah for arrears of tribute or intereſt due thereon previous to the year 1771; no claim for the expences of the expedition in that year: Becauſe it appeared that he had actually received upwards of *four millions five hundred thouſand rupees*, as a full indemnification for all theſe demands (*d*).

Nor for the expedition of 1773.

That much leſs could he form any pretenſions on account of the expedition in 1773, ſince the *plunder of the place and the receipt of*

(*c*) Ibid. fol. 24.

(*d*) Ibid. They add, "beſides the ceſſion of certain diſtricts to the amount of "rupees 480,000 per annum."—But the ceſſion of *theſe* diſtricts they afterwards diſallow: ſo that the income only from the year 1771 is to be placed to the accompt of the Nabob's acquiſitions. That, for four years, excluſive of the charge of collecting, would make about 1,500,000: added to the ſum of four millions and a half, it leaves ſix millions of rupees, which the Nabob received for the expedition of 1771.

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the revenues of the country, for more than two years, muſt have left the Nabob a very conſiderable gainer, after defraying all charges incurred in that ſhort expedition; which was undertaken in Auguſt, and finiſhed in September (*e*).

Nor to the alienations made by the Rajah in the treaty of 1771.

As a neceſſary conſequence from theſe poſitions the Directors inſtruct their Governor and Council to pay no regard to that article of the treaty of 1771, which reſpects the alienation of part of the Rajah's dominions. The intention of the Directors being, that the Rajah ſhould be forthwith reſtored to *all* the dominions, his right to which was recogniſed and guarantied by the treaty of 1762; ſave only to the temporary ſovereignty of ſuch diſtricts as had been aſſigned to the Nabob as a ſecurity for the payment of certain ſums of money: which diſtricts were not to revert to the Rajah, till ſuch payment ſhould be completed (*f*).

To obtain a ſtatement of Nabob's receipts and diſburſements for the expeditions of 1771 and 1773.

One more material order muſt be noticed. The Governor and Council are directed to obtain, if practicable, a ſtatement of the Nabob's receipts and diſburſements on accompt of the two expeditions againſt Tanjore. The reaſon of this order is aſſigned: that the Nabob might not plead thoſe expences as a reaſon for not paying his debts to the Company and to his other European creditors, in caſe they ſhould be ſpeedily demanded.

To appoint a Committee of Circuit.

The Directors go on to inſtruct Lord Pigot and his Council in the ſteps They were to take towards acquiring a complete knowledge of the territories of the Company on the coaſt of Coromandel. For this purpoſe, it is ordered, that a committee of five members of the Council be appointed to make the circuit of the Northern Circars, and to aſcertain with all poſſible exactneſs—the number of inhabitants—the ſtate of manufactures—the number and ſtate of the fortified places—the groſs amount of the revenues, with the articles, from which they ariſe, and the mode and

(*e*) Ibid. fol. 24, 25. (*f*) Ibid. fol. 24.

charges

charges of collection—the ſpecific proportion, uſually received by the Zemindar or land-holder—the ſpecific proportion, allotted to the cultivator, as the reward of his labour—the ſecurity, which the native has for his property—the number of the courts of juſtice and their modes of proceeding—the practicability of adopting in the Northern Circars the regulations which the Preſident and Council of Bengal had lately eſtabliſhed, or others ſimilar thereto—the beſt mode of at once ſecuring to the Zemindars their hereditary revenues, and of delivering the inhabitants from undue exactions and oppreſſions—the ſtrength of each Zemindar in the Circars, with the expence of his houſehold and that of his troops, and the means He may have of defraying them—the number of regular Seapoys which it will be neceſſary for the Company to maintain in the reſpective diſtricts, in order to keep them in due ſubjection (*g*).

Time when and *ends* for which this Committee was to be appointed.

To acquire a clear knowledge of all theſe important points was to be the object of the Committee of Circuit. And here two things well deſerve the reader's particular attention—the *time* when—and the *ends* for which this Committee was to be appointed—By the *ends* I mean the *uſe* which the ſervants of the Company were to make of the information, they would receive from the Committee.

Time, viz. *after* the affairs of Tanjore ſhould be finally adjuſted.

As to the *time*, the orders of the Directors are clear and preciſe. And it is very material to the preſent queſtion to mark the time. The Committee was not to be appointed, *till the affairs reſpecting Tanjore ſhould be accommodated and finally adjuſted* (*h*). Nor can it fail to ſtrike the moſt inattentive reader, that *no earlier period ought to have been aſſigned for the appointment of this Committee.*

Ends, viz. increaſe of the military eſtabliſhment, with

For what were the ends of this appointment; the *uſe* I mean which the ſervants of the Company were to make of the information they would receive from the Committee? The diſpoſition *of the Nabob*,

(*g*) Ibid. fol. 25, 26, 27. (*h*) Ibid. fol. 25.

his

his apparent views to independency (*i*), *had made it neceſſary to increaſe the military ſtrength of the Company* in their own poſſeſſions. The great difficulty was to do this without diminiſhing the reſources which had hitherto been appropriated to the proviſion of their inveſtments, and the ſupport of their government (*k*). The Jaghire lands, and the Northern Circars, offered the only fund which could be appropriated to this new object. Nor would they ſupply the neceſſary fund, unleſs they were put under other regulations. From the information, therefore, which they would receive from this Committee, the Governor and Council were to apportion the rents by the real value of the lands; to take the moſt effectual means of checking the lawleſs power, and curtailing the uſeleſs expences of the Zemindars, of protecting the under-tenants; of rendering every military man, reſiding in the Circars, obedient to the orders of the Company, and ſubject, whenever called upon, to ſerve in the troops of the Company.

out diminiſhing other reſources.

It might well be expected that theſe regulations however ſalutary—and indeed *becauſe* they were ſalutary—would create ſome alarm among the Zemindars. Of this the Nabob might take advantage: he might incite the Zemindars to join with him in oppoſing all the orders, in defeating the whole ſcheme, of the Company. It would therefore have been highly improper that this Committee ſhould ſet out, till the *final adjuſtment of the great buſineſs of Tanjore* ſhould leave the Governor and Council at liberty to ſupport their Committee in the execution of their truſt; and impreſs the country powers with a full idea of the equity of the Company in maintaining its own engagements, and of its firmneſs in compelling others to adhere to theirs.

Which fixed the time of the appointment.

For the ſame purpoſe of checking the Nabob in his views to independence, the Company direct that, unleſs the Nabob would

They were to let the Jaghire lands to

(*i*) Ibid. fol. 25. (*k*) Ibid. fol. 25. 27. (*l*) Ibid. fol. 26, 27.

agree

the Nabob for one year only, and that on certain conditions.

agree to ſuch arrangements as ſeemed neceſſary to their mutual advantage, he ſhould no longer rent the Jaghire lands; and that, at all events, he ſhould rent them only from year to year, under the expreſs condition, that the Committee of Circuit ſhould be at full liberty to explore the country; to aſcertain the real produce and revenues thereof; and to exerciſe the ſame powers as in the Northern Circars (*m*).

Recapitulation of the orders of the Company.

In a word: the plain meaning of the Company's orders, the language, which They literally hold is this—*Without loſs of time* take the moſt effectual meaſures for ſecuring the King of Tanjore: *forthwith* appoint a proper guard for the protection of his *perſon* and *family*: at the ſame time lay before Him the conditions, on which we have determined to replace Him on the throne of his anceſtors. Theſe conditions, calculated for the mutual benefit of the King and of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, provide, at the ſame time, for the rights of the Nabob of the Carnatic. The moment the King agrees to theſe conditions, reſtore Him to the throne of his anceſtors, with *all* the *country*, and *all* the rights He poſſeſſed at the concluſion of the treaty of 1762 (*n*). If He ſhould not be living *at the time of the receipt of theſe orders at Fort St. George, forthwith* place ſome other fit perſon of the royal family on the throne. Aſſure the King, or his ſucceſſor, that We neither mean to diminiſh his authority, nor to *impoveriſh*, or *diſtreſs*, his country. Command our ſervants not to interfere in the affairs of his government, and ſee that your commands be punctually fulfilled. Recollect, that the Nabob has no *farther* claim on the Rajah, ſave only for the current tribute.—For the expences of the expedition

(*m*) Ibid. fol. 28.

(*n*) That this was the plain and literal ſenſe of the orders of the Company, is evident from reaſons, which the reader will hereafter ſee alleged to prove the contrary. It is moreover evident from the ſubſequent directions, in caſe the King ſhould be dead, at the receipt of their orders. The maintenance of the Nabob's rights was ſecured by theſe conditions, to which the Rajah was to ſubmit. No other previous ſecurity was to be obtained, or could be wanting.

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in 1771 He *has been amply recompenſed:* By the expedition in 1773 He has been *a very conſiderable gainer*; having plundered the place, and continued in the receipt of the revenues of the country for more than two years (*o*)—You ſhall therefore allow of *no other claim*, ſave only the current tribute: You ſhall not allow of the alienations, made by the treaty of 1771, but You ſhall *immediately* reſtore the Rajah to *all* that He poſſeſſed at the concluſion of the treaty of 1762. To cut off all complaints of the Nabob, endeavour to aſcertain the amount of his receipts and diſburſements, on account on the Tanjore country. And theſe are to be the firſt objects of your attention. When this buſineſs ſhall be finally adjuſted, then, and not till then, acquire a complete knowledge of the territories which have been granted to the Company on the Coaſts of Coromandel; eſtabliſh a judicious and permanent ſyſtem for their future management: ſee if They can ſupply an adequate fund for that increaſe of our military eſtabliſhments, to which We are compelled, by the reſtleſs and ambitious ſpirit of the Nabob.

They are ſtrongly enforced.

Theſe were the orders with the execution of which Lord Pigot as Preſident and Governor was entruſted by the Company: They were to be carried into *immediate execution*. In the execution of them the Council *were not to fail to concur with the Preſident* (*p*). To enſure ſucceſs to them, the Governor-general and Council of

(*o*) It is difficult to ſay, to what lengths the ſpirit of party will carry men. Speaking of the expedition in 1773, the Directors had ſaid—"We muſt conclude, that "the *plunder* of the place, and the receipt of the revenues for more than two years, "would have rendered the Nabob a conſiderable gainer."—As the Directors diſapproved of this expedition, and expreſſed their abhorrence of it, one would have thought it impoſſible, ſo to torture theſe words, as to make them convey any thing more than a recapitulation of *facts*, which *had* happened; and not a recognition of *right*, of facts which *ought* to have happened. Yet the ingeniouſneſs of a Mr. Brooke has diſcovered this in them: "by this *He* underſtands"—but ſurely his underſtanding is ſingular—"They do allow Him the enjoyment of the revenues for two years *and more* *.

(*p*) Ibid. fol. 29.

* Papers, vol. i. fol. 197.

Bengal were directed to co-operate, *if the Preſident and Council of Madraſs ſhould find it neceſſary* (q). *An oppoſition to them, or a refuſal to carry them into full effect*, on the part of *any ſervant* of the Company, civil or military, was, on proper repreſentation of the caſe to the Company, to be followed by an *abſolute diſmiſſion* from the ſervice of the Company (r).

Policy and humanity of them.

And here, I think, we may venture to appeal to any man at all converſant in the records of the Company: we may call on him to produce any ſet of inſtructions, given at any time, by any Court of Directors, on any occaſion, which breathe a ſpirit of purer humanity or of ſounder policy, than thoſe which we have now recited.

(q) Ibid. fol. 28.

(r) Ibid.

SECT.

SECTION II.

Meaſures adopted by Lord Pigot, for reſtoring the Rajah, and ſettling the Country of Tanjore in purſuance of the Orders of the Company.

State of the ſettlement at Madraſs on Lord Pigot's arrival.

"UPON my arrival in India," (ſays Lord Pigot in his Narrative) "I found a general reform was neceſſary in the "ſettlement, to preſerve the Company from ruin."—The facts, which we have ſtated towards the cloſe of the Introduction, will abundantly juſtify this remark of his Lordſhip. Were it neceſſary, we could juſtify it by other evidence; by authority, which on *this occaſion*—and perhaps on this alone—would be above ſuſpicion: by the authority of the *Nabob*.—From him it is, from the *old* friend of the gentlemen, to whom the management of the Company's poſſeſſions on the Coaſt of Coromandel had been for ſome time entruſted, that we may learn the neceſſity of a general reform among the ſervants of the Company. Hear how he paints Them (*a*).—His language is ſometimes rough: but I muſt give it as I find it. He talks of their "*villainy* (*b*)." He declares "that "it was not a regard to the intereſt of their employers, that cauſed "the war in 1765 with the Nizam, nor the ſucceeding war with "Hyder Ally: that the Myſorean war was conducted in a *ſhame-*"*ful* manner; that the peace of 1769 had not the intereſts of the "Company in view (*c*)." "They"—ſpeaking of all theſe events —"were owing (He ſays) to the private views of a few indivi-"duals, who enriched their Selves at the expence of the influence "of the Company (*d*)." "Under many ſpecious arguments" (ſays He) "your ſervants have made You believe, that they were atten-"tive to *Your intereſts*, when their own private views have been

(*a*) See Letter from the Nabob to the Court of Directors, dated 16th of March, 1773. India Houſe.

(*b*) Ib. paragraph 3. (*c*) Ib. paragraph 5. (*d*) Ibid.

" the *real* ſpring of action (*e*) :" " You cannot be acquainted" (ſays He) " *with the immenſe ſums of money, which I have been obliged to* " *pay (f)*." With ſuch a character before Them; with ſuch a direct charge of peculation brought againſt their Servants by the very man, to whoſe ambition and reſentment theſe Servants had ſacrificed an ancient and a faithful ally: poſſeſſed of ſuch proofs of miſmanagement as were recapitulated in the preceding ſection; it was not from Lord Pigot that the Company ſhould have waited to learn that *a general reform* was neceſſary. They ſhould not have ſent a new Governor to act with Servants, whoſe miſconduct was ſo glaring. Then, when They ſent out Lord Pigot, They ſhould have done, what They have ſince done on very different grounds —They ſhould have recalled every Member of the Council at Madraſs.

Aſſignment given by the Nabob on the Tanjore country.

But immenſe as were the ſums, which the Nabob had been obliged to pay to the Servants of the Company, They neither exceeded his reſources; nor bore any proportion to his ambition. During the courſe of the ſame year, from theſe ſame Servants of the Company, He obtained other important favours; He obtained *the Kingdom of Tanjore*. Will it be uncandid to ſuppoſe, that He obtained it by the ſame means He had before been obliged to employ—by the payment of *other immenſe* ſums? He who beſt knows them, ſays, " *Their own private views are the real ſpring of their* " *actions*." If by theſe means He acquired the Kingdom of Tanjore, the ſame were again put in practice to ſecure Him in the poſſeſſion of it. He learnt, that the Company was determined to do juſtice to the Rajah, by reinſtating him on the throne of his anceſtors: He learnt that the order for reinſtating Him was actually given: And He learnt to whom the execution of this order was entruſted. The Nabob knew Lord Pigot, and was known to him: He had, therefore, no hope, either of ſeducing his Lordſhip's

(*e*) See ib. paragraph 6.

(*f*) Ibid. paragraph 15.

integrity,

integrity, or of eluding his diſcernment (*g*). But he had other hopes. Though it were impoſſible to ſubdue the ſtubborn virtue of Lord Pigot, it might not be ſo difficult to render that virtue ineffectual. Though the Preſident could not, the Council might, be gained. Again then He touched the *real ſpring* of all the actions of the Servants of the Company: He iſſued *Tankas*, or aſſignments on the country of Tanjore, as a ſecurity for debts, real or pretended, to the amount of *one million two hundred thouſand pounds* (*h*).

Particularly to Paul Benfield.

In the liſt of theſe creditors no member of the Council appeared: the effect of that would have been too glaring. But foremoſt on the liſt ſtands the name of Mr. Paul Benfield, of whom honourable mention has been already made in the courſe of this work (*i*). What was the exact amount of Mr. Benfield's demands on the Nabob, has not yet, I think, preciſely appeared. Mr. Benfield, though poſitive and preſſing in his claims, is ſometimes confuſed in his ſtatements, and tardy in the production of his vouchers (*k*). This may perhaps ariſe from the multiplicity of his claims: for his connections in the Tanjore country are extenſive. Beſides aſſignments from the Nabob, He had, it ſeems, private claims. Together we ſhall find them on a random calculation—and no other calculation has yet been obtained—to amount to about two hundred and thirty-four thouſand pounds ſterling. Wealthy as Mr. Benfield may be, it is ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed, that all theſe loans were made out of his own ſingle, private purſe. It ſeems to be more than probable, that ſome few of them, at leaſt, were negociated by Him in quality of Agent, and not of principal. Perhaps he might be employed as Agent by ſome of the Council at Madraſs, poſſibly by ſome of the Council at Bengal.

(*g*) How perfectly Lord Pigot was acquainted with the character and the views of the Nabob may be ſeen by his Lordſhip's Letter: Appendix, F.

(*h*) See Narrative, fol. 5.

(*i*) See Introduction, fol. 64, &c.

(*k*) See Narrative, fol. 5. 69,

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Policy of the Manœuvre.

The policy of the Nabob in this manœuvre is evident. If theſe aſſignments could ſo far operate, as *totally* to prevent the execution of the orders given to Lord Pigot; ſo far as to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Tanjore to the Nabob, They would be well beſtowed: that would be indeed a *valuable conſideration.* If They could not operate ſo far, ſtill much might be gained, nothing could be loſt by them. Some of his debts were, no doubt, *bonâ fide* debts: the weight of theſe—ſuppoſing the aſſignments to be allowed—He would throw off his own ſhoulders, which would give real eaſe to his Self: He would throw it on the ſhoulders of the Rajah, which would gratify his revenge; for it would oppreſs the man, for whom He felt an inveterate hatred. Suppoſing the validity of theſe aſſignments to be diſputed, to be denied, ſtill He would loſe nothing; He would then find his Self but where He would have been without them; ſtill ſomething would be gained by them. They could ſcarcely fail of giving riſe to diſſenſions between Lord Pigot and his Council. This at leaſt would retard the buſineſs; the Nabob would gain time; and time, He knew, might gain every thing.

Effects of it.

The effects of this policy were in ſome degree anſwerable to his wiſhes, and were felt from the firſt moment of Lord Pigot's arrival. The orders indeed of the Company were poſitive and preciſe; the penalty, by which they were enforced, was ſevere—no leſs, We have ſeen, than a total diſmiſſion from the ſervice of the Company—it was not therefore judged altogether ſafe, or prudent, directly to oppoſe the execution of theſe orders. An appearance at leaſt was aſſumed of a "*ready diſpoſition* in the Council to ſup-"port his Lordſhip:"—and He, ignorant, it ſhould ſeem, and unſuſpicious of any ſecret practices, entered on his government, "with the pleaſing hopes of being able to ſettle the affairs of it, "with honour to the nation, and advantage to the Company (*l*)."

1775. 11 Decemb. Lord Pigot

Lord Pigot took charge of the government on the 11th of December 1775. And the general and ſeparate letters from the

(*l*) See Narrative, fol. 1.

Court

takes charge of the government, and communicates to the Nabob the orders of the Company.

Court of Directors became the immediate object of attention to Him and to his Council. To this Council it appeared that the orders reſpecting Tanjore were of ſuch a nature, as could not be communicated to the Nabob without much "*caution and deli-*"*cacy:*" to the ſame council it appeared, that the concurrence of the Nabob in the execution of them would be, if not neceſſary, at leaſt expedient; it appeared to be very deſirable that the Nabob ſhould be induced to *requeſt* the execution of them. To communicate the orders, to engage the Nabob to a compliance with them, were taſks, which the Council intreated Lord Pigot to undertake (*m*).

Subſequent negociations with the Nabob.

At the firſt communication of the orders the Nabob affected at leaſt a diſpoſition to comply with them. He gave Lord Pigot the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, "that He would be guided by his Lordſhip's "advice upon all occaſions (*n*)." Soon, however, it appeared, that this diſpoſition was *only affected*. Letters after letters were written by the Nabob againſt the reſtoration of the Rajah. They all breathe the ſame ſpirit; all ſpeak the ſame language with that which his Agent gave ſo early to the public (*o*). The ſame groundleſs claims are advanced; the ſame unſupported facts aſſerted: the ſame pompous diſplay of ſervices rendered, or pretended to have been rendered, to the Company: the ſame complaints of diſaffection on the part of the Rajah: the ſame miſinterpretation of the treaty of 1762: the ſame artful miſ-ſtatement of the date and the purport of his Majeſty's letter. On one point indeed He holds a very different language from that which his Agent, from that which, on other occaſions, his Self has holden. On other occaſions we have ſeen

(*m*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 34. From the great caution and delicacy required in communicating theſe orders, the Council already felt what the Company had foretold—that it would not be eaſy to control the power, which they had veſted in the Nabob.

(*n*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 35.

(*o*) This correſpondence appears at length in Papers, vol. i. fol. 39—83. An abſtract of it in Narrative, fol. 55—59.

Him

Him make a clear diſtinction between the Company and the Governor and Council: We have ſeen Him accuſe the latter of ſacrificing the intereſts of the former to their own private views. Here He changes his ſtyle, and declares, "that He never conſidered "the Company and the Governor and Council *as diſtinct from each* "*other*." The inference is obvious—The preceding Governor and Council had undoubtedly approved, ſince by their help the Nabob had been enabled to effectuate, the uſurpation of Tanjore: their approbation involves the approbation of the Company, ſince theſe bodies are not diſtinct from each other: Therefore the Company ſhould not now condemn what it had before approved, what it Self had done. With equal art He endeavours to engage the intereſt, and beſpeak the confidence of the Board; the former, by recalling to their memory the many debts He owed to *Engliſhmen*; debts, which were ſecured by *aſſignments on the country of Tanjore*; the latter partly by ſubmitting to their notice, that ſuch was his confidence in *Them*, that his wives, his family and his perſon were brought within reach of the cannon of Madraſs; and partly by offering to receive an Engliſh garriſon into thefort of Tanjore, provided the Sovereignty of the country might remain in his hands till farther orders could be received from England.

1776. Feb. 9. Colonel Harpur garriſons the Fort of Tanjore and delivers the King from priſon.

Unwilling to irritate the Nabob; deſirous, if poſſible, to act in concert with Him; ſolicitous that the gentleſt methods ſhould be purſued; the anſwers, propoſed by Lord Pigot and adopted by the Board, were written with a ſpirit of great moderation, and conceived in terms of becoming reſpect. They did not reproach Him with the many proofs of diſaffection He had given to the Engliſh; They ſaid nothing of the repeated efforts He had made, towards ſhaking off his dependence on the Company, towards rendering the Company dependent on Him; They did not upbraid Him with the important ſervices He had received from the Engliſh; They did not upbraid Him with the important ſervices which the Rajah and his father had rendered to Him in his diſtreſs: Not a word

word did They ſay of his inveterate hatred againſt this unfortunate Prince; not a word of the many acts of oppreſſion, with which he had harraſſed him, during the whole courſe of his reign (*p*). They contented their Selves with ſimply ſtating, that the Company conſidered the treaty of 1762 to be ſtill in force; conſidered their Selves, in quality of guarantees to that treaty, to be bounden to enforce the execution of it: That in conſequence of that obligation They had ordered their Servants forthwith to reſtore the Rajah: That theſe orders had been given on the matureſt deliberation; and *after having been laid before his Majeſty's Miniſters for their approval* (*q*): That at all events, therefore, the Governor and Council were under the neceſſity of carrying theſe orders into immediate execution: That They could not receive the fort of Tanjore under *any conditions*; though They would certainly give every mark of attention to the intereſts of the Nabob, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the orders of the Company (*r*). In the mean time They accepted his offer of receiving a garriſon into the fort of Tanjore. And in conſequence of this offer, on the 9th of February 1766, Colonel Harpur took poſſeſſion of the Fort of Tanjore, and informed the unfortunate Rajah, that His perſon was free, and that He would ſoon be reſtored to His throne (*s*).

Violent meaſures propoſed by ſome of the Council, but rejected by Lord Pigot.

This was a great point gained: much, however, remained to be done. Lord Pigot was ſtill deſirous of obtaining the concurrence of the Nabob through the reſt of this delicate, and important buſineſs; and was therefore ſtill ſolicitous, that *gentle* meaſures ſhould be purſued. Different at that time was the *advice*, if not the *opinion*, of ſome who now affect ſo much deference for the independent rights of the Nabob. One of Them (*t*) propoſed a meaſure the moſt raſh and precipitate; no other than that of enforcing the compliance of the Nabob, *by the ſeizure of His perſon*. The pro-

(*p*) See the proofs of this in the Introduction and Appendix.
(*q*) See Narrative, fol. 58.
(*r*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 48.
(*s*) Ib. fol. 57.
(*t*) Mr. Mackay.

poſal was not ſuggeſted in private, it was made *publicly, in Council*: it was not thrown out haſtily, it was made with deliberation; great pains were taken to evince the propriety of it (*u*). Violent as it now pleaſes this very gentleman to repreſent Lord Pigot, his Lordſhip rejected, with becoming indignation, a meaſure, which nothing but an open reſiſtance on the part of the Nabob could have rendered neceſſary; and which nothing but neceſſity conld have juſtified, could have purged from the criminality of a breach of national faith.

Attempt to take the conduct of this buſineſs out of the hands of Lord Pigot.

Dreadfully as the gentlemen have ſince pretended to be alarmed at the violence of Lord Pigot's temper, They were then, We may venture to affirm, really alarmed at the coolneſs of his temper. It does not appear to have been their wiſh that the Rajah ſhould be reſtored. Still leſs does it appear to have been their wiſh that the reſtoration ſhould be effected in a cool and temperate manner. The man who ſhould conduct the buſineſs with coolneſs and temper, might be led to make enquiries. By ſuch a man, the validity of theſe tankas, or aſſignments, might be queſtioned; the *conſideration* given for them might be too ſcrupulouſly examined. The next attempt therefore was to take the whole conduct of this important buſineſs out of the hands of Lord Pigot; and it was propoſed, that "the Rajah ſhould be put into immediate poſſeſſion "of his country *by the military officer commanding at Tanjore:*" and that "*the execution of the Company's orders, on that head, ſhould be* "*referred entirely to that officer* (*x*)." The gentleman who propoſed this advice (*y*) was rather more cautious than his colleague: he did not propoſe it publicly in Council, but in private to his Lordſhip: he was not only cautious in the mode of making his propoſal, but ſolicitous, that, if accepted, it ſhould be properly executed; and, therefore, provident that the *military Officer commanding* at Tanjore ſhould be, in *his* opinion at leaſt, an able and a pro-

(*u*) See Narrative, fol. 2. (*x*) Ibid. (*y*) Sir Robert Fletcher.

per

per man. It was the lot of this gentleman to be the firſt military Officer, on the Coaſt of Coromandel. Without aſking the *conſent* of the Council, without troubling Them with any information about it, He had previouſly taken care to *ſend his own baggage, and one of his Secretaries to Tanjore.* And, knowing the cuſtoms of the Eaſt as well as the diſtreſſes of the Rajah, He had likewiſe been provident enough to ſmooth his way to the court of the Rajah, by borrowing money for the purpoſe of lending it to the Rajah (*z*). This propoſal met with the ſame fate as the former. The General was diſappointed; and felt his diſappointment. From this moment he ſeems to have made it a point to hinder the execution of a meaſure which He was not allowed to conduct. He therefore *adviſed the Nabob to throw every obſtacle in his Lordſhip's way: he aſſured the Nabob, that his Lordſhip dared not execute the orders of the Company without the conſent of the Nabob* (*a*).

1766. March 25. Voted unanimouſly, that Lord Pigot go to Tanjore.

It is not wonderful, that the Nabob ſhould liſten to ſuch advice from a man in ſuch a ſtation. It is not wonderful, that liſtening to this advice, He ſhould be more and more tenacious of retaining the country, and the government of Tanjore. And in fact the ſtyle of his letters became every day more peremptory: his tone more determined. He ſignified to the Board, what He calls "his "*pleaſure* in reſpect to his *right* to the Tanjore country, which "(he ſays) *is a part of the Carnatic* (*b*)." The Board therefore ceaſed to entertain any hopes of inducing Him to concur with them in the execution of the orders of the Company reſpecting Tanjore.

(*z*) See Narrative, fol. 22. (*a*) See Ibid.

(*b*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 86. This idea of his having a right to the country of Tanjore, *as a part of the Carnatic*, the Nabob probably borrowed from his very intelligent friend Mr. John Macpherſon; who, in a *ſhort memorial* of ſervices rendered to the Nabob, takes to his Self, and I believe *very deſervedly*, the merit of having *firſt* diſcovered, that the Carnatic was guarantied to the Nabob by the treaty of Paris.† He probably firſt diſcovered too, that Tanjore *was a part* of the Carnatic, in the ſenſe for which the Nabob contends.

† See this memorial in the Minutes of Conſultation at Fort St. George, Jan. 22, 1776. India Houſe.

For this reaſon, and *becauſe the ſtate of the crop* in the Tanjore country would not admit of any further delay, the Board was unanimouſly of opinion, that it was *proper* and *neceſſary*, that Lord Pigot ſhould *immediately* ſet out for Tanjore to carry the orders of the Company into effect, by placing the Rajah in the full poſſeſſion and management of his dominions (*c*).

And that the Country of Tanjore be protected by the Company's troops; and that none but troops well diſciplined and regularly paid, be kept in the Carnatic.

On the two other points the Board were likewiſe unanimous in their opinions. They unanimouſly decided it to be neceſſary, not only that the *fort* of Tanjore ſhould be garriſoned by Engliſh troops but, that the *whole country* ſhould be protected by the troops of the Company. And in conſequence of this opinion, another battalion of Seapoys was ordered to march to the ſouthward to enable the Rajah to collect his revenues. They unanimouſly decided the ſafety of the Carnatic to depend upon the keeping a well diſciplined force, regularly paid, and the particular ſafety and quiet of every individual to require, that no other force be kept up. And in conſequence of this opinion they expreſſed their wiſhes that the Rajah of Tanjore would join them in their endeavours to place the country in that ſituation (*d*).

Votes carried by a majority.

At the ſame Board it was carried by a majority—that the Governor might take with Him to Tanjore, whatſoever Servants of the Company, civil or military, He might chuſe—that in virtue of his commiſſion of Government, Lord Pigot held the ſame autho-

(*c*) See Narrative, fol. 2—59. And Papers, vol. i. fol. 88. The *ſtate of the crop* in the Tanjore country is here avowed to be the reaſon, why Lord Pigot ſhould *immediately* ſet off for Tanjore, *immediately* reſtore the Rajah. Clearly therefore the Board were then unanimouſly of opinion, that the government ſhare of the crop belonged to *the Rajah, and not to the Nabob*. Had they been of opinion that it belonged to the Nabob, it would have been a reaſon, and a ſtrong one too, why the reſtoration of the Rajah ſhould have been deferred. He ſurely ſhould be kept or put in the poſſeſſion and management of the country, to whom the property of the country belonged.

(*d*) See Narrative, fol. 60. Papers, vol. i. fol. 88.

rity

rity when preſent in any fort, factory, or ſettlement under that Preſidency, as He held when preſent in Fort St. George—And that ſuch guard as the Governor thought neceſſary ſhould attend Him. In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, Colonel Harpur, who commanded at Tanjore, was directed to put his Self under the command of Lord Pigot, and follow all ſuch orders, as He from time to time ſhould receive from Him (*e*).

Motion to join two Members of the Board in a deputation rejected.

A motion was made, but rejected by a majority of the ſame Board, that at leaſt two members of the Council ſhould be joined in a deputation with the Preſident. This motion is remarkable, on account of the perſon who made it; the reaſons, by which it was ſupported; and the conſequences produced by the rejection of it. It was made by *Sir Robert Fletcher*. And He, it ſeems, was ſo thoroughly convinced of the propriety, nay of the neceſſity of this deputation, that He would never have aſſented to the firſt reſolution *(f)*, but "upon the idea, that more members of the "Council, would, upon a ſubſequent motion, be joined with the Pre-"ſident, under *expreſs and particular inſtructions ſigned by the Board:*" He declares "the mode, adopted by the Board, to be without "example;" that, "ſhould it be drawn into a precedent hereafter, "it might, in its conſequences, ſerve more to forward the perni-"cious ſchemes of *individuals*, than the honour and intereſt of the "public." "He thought his Self bound to declare his opinion, "that the Board could not legally and conſtitutionally veſt in a de-"putation an undefined and unlimited power:" that "He could "never hold his Self juſtified in conſenting to a delegation of the "powers of the Board, but in caſe of evident neceſſity, which"—

(*e*) See Narrative, fol. 60. Papers, vol. i. fol. 89, 90. The reader may ſee the reaſons aſſigned by thoſe who diſſented from the three laſt reſolutions and who propoſed that relating to a deputation, in Narrative, fol. 60—62, and Papers, vol. i. fol. 95—100.

(*f*) That it was proper for Lord Pigot to ſet out immediately for Tanjore, &c.

in

in his opinion—"the preſent was not (*g*)." What weight theſe arguments might have, coming from the mouth of any other man, may be conſidered hereafter. From the mouth of Sir Robert Fletcher, they ſurely could have no weight.—Sir Robert, We have ſeen, had propoſed to delegate theſe ſame powers to the military officer, commanding at Tanjore: He had taken previous ſteps to be upon the ſpot, and conſequently to be *the military* officer *commanding* at Tanjore. At that moment then He was under no apprehenſion from the ill conſequences of delegating the powers of the Board. But all at once, when theſe powers were to be delegated to the very man, "*on whoſe ſeaſonable exertion of thoſe peculiar abi-*"*lities, for which He is ſo juſtly and eminently diſtinguiſhed,*" the Company declared They relied, "in no ſmall degree, for ſucceſs (*h*);" to the man, whom *all* the Servants of the Company, civil, or military, were to *aſſiſt*; with whom, or with whoſe *ſucceſſor* (in caſe of his death) They were "*not to fail to concur* in carrying the or-"ders of the Company into immediate execution (*i*);" then, and not till then, ſuſpicions ariſe; the views of the General are extended; He kens from afar a whole hoſt of diſtant dangers; and big with apprehenſions, agitated by fears of He knows not what, He wiſhes to with-hold from the civil Governor that power, which He conceived might have been ſafely lodged in the hands of a military officer.

Propriety of the preceding reſolutions.

But have theſe arguments any weight? Are the reſolutions really ſo big with danger? Let Us examine them with a little attention. From the terms of this minute one would be tempted to imagine that Sir Robert did not know, for moſt certainly he has not ſtated,

(*g*) Meſſrs. Mackay, Jourdan, and Palmer voted for a deputation, and aſſigned ſome of the reaſons alleged by Sir Robert, adding, beſides, ſome of their own. Mr. Mackay aſſigns as a reaſon, that the revenues of Tanjore are *about* a *million* ſterling a year:—the Agent of the Nabob makes it *half* a million: the word *about* may reconcile them. Meſſrs. Jourdan and Palmer were apprehenſive, that they might be made reſponſible for Lord Pigot's conduct.

(*h*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 20. (*i*) See ibid. fol. 28, 29.

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the object for which Lord Pigot was going to Tanjore. Dropping the object of his Lordſhip's miſſion, he miſ-ſtates the meaſure of the power delegated for the purpoſe of effectuating that object: and wildly talks of the delegation of an undefined, unlimited power (*k*). But what was the fact? The avowed, the ſole object of Lord Pigot's going to Tanjore was to carry *one* ſpecific *order* into execution: to reſtore the *Rajah to his throne*. The country to which, the terms upon which, the King was to be reſtored, were preciſely marked by the *Company*, from whom both the Preſident and the Council derive their authority. To theſe orders, neither the Preſident, nor a deputation, nor even the Board could add any thing: from them nothing could be diminiſhed. The function to be diſcharged was therefore a function of the executive power; and this by its very nature is limited. The Board therefore—and very properly I truſt the reader will think—left it to be diſcharged by one man; by that man, upon whoſe abilities their Employers had avowed their firm reliance. Not chuſing to fetter Him with unneceſſary reſtraints, They refuſed to join others with Him as co-deputies: They gave Him no other inſtruction, but this, which the reader, I truſt, will conceive to be the only proper inſtruction, "Go and carry the orders of the Company into execution."—Did He *chuſe* to be aſſiſted by the advice of any Servant of the Company? The Board conſented. They would not compel Him to be guided by the opinion of others; and therefore They would not give Him co-deputies: but neither would They deprive Him of any aſſiſtance He deſired; and therefore They left Him at liberty to take any Servants of the Company He might chuſe. For *all* the Servants of the Company, civil and military, had been expreſsly commanded to *aſſiſt* Him; to *concur* with Him in the execution of this order. To ſecure the execution of the orders of the Company, the preſence of the troops had been deemed to be neceſſary. For this purpoſe therefore, and *for this purpoſe alone*, thoſe troops

(*k*) The author of the Caſe, whether through ignorance, or deſign, follows Sir Robert in this miſtake.

employed

employed on that ſervice were put under his command. The commiſſion of government was read. There in expreſs words the Company was found to declare—" We have appointed Lord Pigot " to be Preſident and Governor of, and for, *all* our affairs on the " Coaſts of Coromandel and Orixa, and of the Chingee and Ma- " ratta countries, and of all the territories thereunto belonging: " *and of all and ſingular the forts, factories, and ſettlements territories,* " *countries, and juriſdictions thereof* (*l*)." The Board therefore declared that, which their Employers had declared before them; namely, that by virtue of this commiſſion, Lord Pigot held the ſame authority when preſent in any fort, factory, or ſettlement under the Preſidency, as He held when preſent in Fort St. George. And They added—what the reader, I truſt, will conceive to be a neceſſary appendage to his ſtation, a neceſſary conſequence from the preceding poſition—that ſuch a guard ſhould attend his Lordſhip, as He thought neceſſary. What is there now in this precedent, " which in its conſequences may ſerve to favour the perni- " cious ſchemes of an individual?" What is there to juſtify the author of the Caſe when He " defies the records of the India Com- " pany to produce two ſuch bareſaced inſtances of diſobedience to " *their* conſtitution and orders (*m*)?" I am not fond of defying, but if this gentleman will ceaſe to miſtate, under pretence of interpreting; if he will ſuffer the Board to ſpeak their own language; if he will reaſon from their text, and not from his comments; I for once will venture to defy him. With all his acumen I defy him to *prove*, that theſe reſolutions are repugnant to the conſtitution of the government of Madraſs, or to the orders of the Company.

First appearance of party in the Council.

Hitherto, Lord Pigot obſerves, " there was no appearance of " any *party* in Council (*n*). The author of the *Caſe* improves upon this remark, and tells us, " that the firſt appearance of any " *diſagreement* in the Council was on occaſion of theſe reſolu-

(*l*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 14.
(*m*) See Caſe, fol. 14.
(*n*) See Narrative, fol. 2.

" tions

"tions (*o*)." His Lordſhip's remark is true, but the author of the Caſe ſeems to be miſtaken. *Diſagreements* there had been on account of private *claims*; and diſagreements, which had left a rankling ſting in the breaſt of the diſappointed (*p*). *Diſagreements* there had been about this very buſineſs of Tanjore. But there is a wide interval between diſagreements and parties. Men may diſagree this moment, and unite more firmly the next. But the ſpirit of party erects a ſettled and permanent wall of ſeparation. Diſagreements may divert the machine from the ſtrait line; but parties convulſe and tear it aſunder. Whatever diſagreements there had been, it was now, on this occaſion, on the rejection of this motion for co-deputies, that an appearance of party in Council was firſt diſcovered. And this appearance was diſcovered preciſely at the moment, when it might have been expected. For that parties ſhould ariſe from diſappointed avarice and ambition is not I think unuſual in the hiſtory of mankind. The Commander in Chief had uſed every endeavour to be one of the co-deputies. He had peruſed with attention the new military regulations: and there He ſaw a wide proſpect opening to a man of an intriguing ſpirit. He had graſped, in imagination, the chief, perhaps the ſole, management of this important buſineſs. Mr. Jourdan was intimate with Mr. Benfield. With this ſame Mr. Benfield others were connected. As co-deputies they might ſupport his claims to effect. Perhaps friendſhip, perhaps a ſtronger tie, than modern friendſhip in the Eaſt, united Them in the wiſh of ſupporting theſe claims. Theſe motives were obvious to a common eye. There might be others. And, let me do juſtice to his diſcernment, others have been diſcovered by the ſhrewd author of the Caſe. I ſhou'd have been fearful of being the firſt to ſuggeſt them. But ſeeing they are ſuggeſted, I muſt allow them at leaſt to be poſſible.

(*o*) See Caſe, fol. 13.

(*p*) Sir Robert Fletcher and Mr. Mackay; the former of whom, at the requeſt of the latter, propoſed to write to the Directors to take the *bar* off the latter, and allow him ro riſe in *ſucceſſion* inſtead of continuing youngeſt in Council. See Narrative, fol. 29.

Poſſible it is, "that Governor Wynch, and his Council, made "their fortunes by dethroning the Rajah (*q*):" Poſſible it is, for the opponents of Lord Pigot to have conceived, that to re-eſtabliſh a Rajah might be made "*as profitable a buſineſs*," as to dethrone one (*r*): Poſſible it is, that the hope of ſharing in this profit, dictated the motion for a deputation. Poſſible it is, that diſappointment, at being prevented from making the reſtoration of the Rajah "a profitable branch of buſineſs" excited and ſtrengthened that ſpirit of party, which has ſince overturned the government of Madraſs. Are the opponents of Lord Pigot angry at theſe ſuppoſitions? Let their anger be directed againſt the man, who profeſſing to write in *their defence*, has ſeen fit to ſuggeſt them.

1776. March 30th. Lord Pigot proceeds to Tanjore.

By whatever motives the opponents of Lord Pigot were actuated, He was careful to give the moſt unequivocal marks of the purity of his intentions—*He offered to take Mr. Jourdan with him.* Mr. Jourdan had before ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the neceſſity of a deputation. He ſtood a candidate for the poſt; He muſt therefore be a little hurt at his diſappointment. Beſides, He was connected with Benfield. He was therefore of all men the laſt whom his Lordſhip would have choſen as a witneſs of his conduct, had He propoſed any ſiniſter view in going to Tanjore. The offer was accepted. Mr. Jourdan went as an aſſiſtant, though He could not go as a co-deputy (*s*).

The Nabob makes another effort

But before his Lordſhip ſet out, the Nabob made one more effort to keep what He ſtill maintained to be *His right* (*t*). The ſtile of

(*q*) See Caſe, fol. 13. The author threatens at leaſt to *bring proofs* of this. Not more for the ſake of public juſtice, than in defence of his own candor, is He bounden, if he can, to put his threat in execution.

(*r*) See Ibid.

(*s*) See Narrative, fol. 3. Papers, vol. i. fol. 100.

(*t*) What the Nabob means by *right* may be learned by his own letters in the Appendix.—Whatever he could obtain by the ſtrength of his own troops and the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, He thinks, *by the bleſſing of God*—as He piouſly adds—to be his right.

this

this application differs from his former. Before, We have ſeen, He ſignified *His pleaſure* to the Board, concerning the country of Tanjore; He now prefers his *requeſt*. Out of the ſums to be collected in the Tanjore country He propoſes to diſcharge the debt He had contracted, to pay the troops in garriſon, to defray other neceſſary expences of Government, and to ſet apart the remainder untouched, till an anſwer could be received from Europe (*u*). To judge of the admiſſibility of this offer, the reader will recollect, that the Nabob had, or pretended to have, involved his Self ſo much in debt, that the whole produce of all the *Arcot* province for twelve months to come would barely pay his creditors: that He owed five lacks of pagodas to his troops: that the aſſignments granted on the Tanjore country were ſo enormous, that the Board doubted, whether the country could ever pay them; that at all events, it could only pay them by inſtallments (*x*). What then was this mighty depoſit, which was to remain *untouched* till the orders from the Company could arrive? The propoſal was nugatory: evidently calculated to retard the reſtoration of the Rajah, and to ſecure to the Nabob the crop of another year. It was left therefore, as it deſerved to be left, unnoticed. And Lord Pigot proceeded to Tanjore on the 30th of March, accompanied by Meſſrs. Dalrymple and Jourdan, members of the Council; by Mr. Chambers and Captain Wood (*y*).

to keep Tanjore.

To judge of the conduct of Lord Pigot during his ſtay at Tanjore, the reader muſt revert to the orders of the Company, and to certain reſolutions of the Board (*z*).

Conduct of Lord Pigot at Tanjore.

Their firſt order was to *reſtore* the Rajah. Lord Pigot arrived at Tanjore on the 8th of April (*a*). On the 11th of the ſame month

Rajah reſtored.

(*u*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 95. (*x*) See ibid. fol. 58, 59.
(*y*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 100.
(*z*) See back, ſect. i. fol. 57 to the end, and likewiſe the beginning of this Section.
(*a*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 100.

it was given out in public orders, that the Rajah was reſtored to the Government of his country, in the full extent of that Government at the concluſion of the treaty of 1762 (*b*).

Future defence of the country

The Rajah was to admit a garriſon of the Company's troops in the Fort of Tanjore: that garriſon was already admitted. He was to aſſign to the Company revenues ſufficient for the maintenance of thoſe troops; for military ſtores; for the repairs of the fortifications; and for other contingent expences. That Lord Pigot obtained all this will not be denied by his enemies: no: here their charge is ſingular indeed; it is, that He obtained, for the Company, terms more advantageous than the Company had ventured to demand for their Selves. This part of his conduct deſerves a particular attention.

ſecured in the moſt advantageous manner.

The Company could not but know, that in fixing the number of troops to garriſon the Fort of Tanjore, in aſcertaining the works and repairs neceſſary for the ſecurity of the fort, in arranging the contingent expences, diſputes might ariſe: poſſible it was, that the preſent, or ſome future Rajah might not be willing to contribute enough: poſſible it was, that ſome future Governor, and Council, might demand too much. The Servants of the Company have not always been diſtinguiſhed for reluctance in aſking: few are the temptations, which *their* fleſh and blood have been able to withſtand. So far as general orders could go, the Company did go, towards preventing ſuch diſputes for the future; or towards terminating amicably ſuch as might not be prevented. Farther They could not go. If the Rajah were to defend the reſt of his country with his own troops, ſtill however diſputes might ariſe: diſputes had ariſen, and very frequent, and very ſerious ones, on this very ſubject, between the Nabob and the Company. Look into their archives, and you may extract whole volumes of

(*b*) See ibid. fol. 102, 103.

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complaints. One mode indeed there was, by which theſe diſputes might be for ever precluded: that mode was to prevail on the Princes of the Carnatic to diſband all their troops, except only ſuch as ſhould be paid by the pay-maſter, and diſciplined by the officers, of the Company. This mode the Council was commanded to adopt, with reſpect to the Zemindars in the Northern Circars: to the ſame mode the Company had often and earneſtly intreated the Nabob to conſent. There was a moment, when the Council had ſuffered their Selves to hope, that They might bring the Nabob to conſent to it: there was a moment, when They ſuffered their Selves to hope, that They ſhould "very ſoon be able to adviſe their Employers, that there would be no troops *on the coaſt of Coromandel*, but what were paid by their pay-maſters, and commanded by their officers (*c*)." But the Nabob was not ſo to be perſuaded: He was deaf to all their intreaties. The Rajah, on the other hand, did not wait to be intreated. What the other had ſullenly refuſed to repeated ſollicitations, He offered chearfully and unſollicited. He was not ignorant of the unanimous reſolutions of the Board—that, in the preſent exigence, not only the Fort of Tanjore ſhould be garriſoned, but the country of Tanjore ſhould be protected by the Company's troops:—That, in future, the ſafety of the Carnatic would depend upon maintaining a force well diſciplined and regularly paid: He knew that, under that deſcription, They meant a force to be diſciplined by the officers, and to be paid by the pay-maſter of the Company. He knew what had been expreſt as the wiſh of the Board—that He would concur with Them in their endeavours to put the country in ſuch a ſituation (*d*). No ſooner was He reſtored to his throne than He determined to gratify Their wiſhes; to concur with Them in Their meaſures. He determined to concur in a way, that ſhould prove it to be his own voluntary act; that ſhould ſeem as if He aſked, rather than conferred, a favour. And in very truth the advantages

(*c*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 59. (*d*) Ibid. fol. 88.

are

are mutual.—" In the preſent condition of my country " (ſays He in a letter to Lord Pigot) " the placing a garriſon of Engliſh troops " is exceedingly neceſſary: but beſides this garriſon, if the Com- " pany will allow ſome more troops likewiſe for the protection of " my whole country, this alſo will be highly proper. If, by the " favour of Heaven, this be put in immediate execution, *neither I*, " *nor any of my family*, will need to apprehend, that the *calamities* " *of war* will fall upon this country *again*: and if the Company " will only favour me thus far, I will with pleaſure aſſign Them, " out of my revenues, the ſum of four lacks of pagodas per annum " for their military expences (*e*)." Obvious were the reaſons which would have rendered it indelicate, as well as impolitic, in the Company, to have made this a condition of reſtoring the Rajah: but not a ſingle reaſon can be aſſigned, why, coming from Him, as a free, and voluntary offer, They ſhould not chearfully accept it. It was a meaſure, which tended to prevent all diſputes between the Rajah and the Company; this was a mutual benefit. It furniſhed a fund for ſupplying the deficiency which was likely to ariſe in the receipts of the Company after the diſcharge of the Nabob's arrears; it was ſtrictly conformable to the ſyſtem, which the Company had ſo often and ſo warmly recommended; theſe were advantages to the Company. On the other hand, it was a conſiderable ſaving to the Rajah, for this ſum was conſiderably leſs than the uſual expences of his military eſtabliſhment; and above all, it gave ſecurity to his poſſeſſions, by preventing thoſe diſputes which muſt otherwiſe have been conſtantly ariſing between the people of the Nabob, and the people of the Rajah in every part of their reſpective frontiers.

Uncandid cenſure paſſed on this part of his Lordſhip's

That a meaſure, productive of permanent ſecurity to the poſſeſſions of the Rajah, ſhould diſpleaſe the Nabob, would not be ſurpriſing. Not ſurpriſing would it be, that engineers and contrac-

(*e*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 103.

tors

tors ſhould ſhudder at a plan, which for ever precluded the gainful trade of erecting forts and repairing works, by the orders of one, but at the expence of another, maſter: which rendered uſeleſs that great, beſt leſſon of arithmetic—*the ſettling of contingent expences*—By engineers and contractors, by the liſted advocates of the Nabob, we might expect to ſee every art of ſophiſtry employed to diſtort the meaning of this agreement. From them we ſhould hear without ſurprize—"That by this ſtipulation of a fixed ſubſidy to be paid by the Rajah, the *equity* of the Company's orders was *totally ſet aſide*"—"That to *accept* an *offer* of the Rajah, was "to *diminiſh* the *authority* of the Rajah."—Nay, without much ſurprize, from them too we might hear—"that it was an *infringement of the rights of the Nabob of the Carnatic*."—They might miſ-ſtate it as "a power exerciſed over the *vaſſal* of the Nabob to "the total excluſion of the *ſovereignty* of the Nabob:"—for *They* are accuſtomed to miſ-ſtate:—They might angrily conclude—for *They* are apt to be angry—"that the meaſure was therefore unauthoriſed, contrary to the orders of the Company, and illegal *(f)*." But ſhould this language be holden by a Servant of the Company, well inſtructed in the views of the Company, and in the ſyſtem of their government on the coaſts of Coromandel; maſter of the conſtitution of Indoſtan, and of the reſpective rights of the Rajah and the Nabob; with all the correſpondence of the Company, and the government of Fort St. George lying open before Him—ſhould it be holden by a Servant of diſtinguiſhed rank, head of a ſettlement; of the firſt ſettlement in the poſſeſſion of the Company:—ſhould it be holden by the Governor and Preſident of a ſettlement, which had, to certain purpoſes, a controling power over all the other ſettlements in India; which had been ſpecially directed to cooperate with the government of Madraſs in carrying their orders for the reſtoration of the Rajah into execution—What ſenſations would it then excite? Not barely ſurprize, not unmixed indig- conduct, by Mr. Haſtings.

(f) See Papers, vol. li. fol. 299, 291.

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nation; but ſenſations, which, I think, few men in the world would wiſh to excite.

All the conditions propoſed by the Company obtained.

By this ſtipulation the true meaning and ſpirit of the II. III. IV. conditions to be performed by the Rajah (*g*), and of the II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. conditions to be performed by the Company (*h*) were fully and effectually accompliſhed; and every difficulty, which might have ariſen, by any other poſſible mode of carrying them into execution, was avoided. To the other conditions, which Lord Pigot was inſtructed to demand of the Rajah, the latter readily, and in the cleareſt terms, aſſented (*i*).

Propoſals made by the Rajah, relating to the grain of the current year.

Two other propoſals were made by the Rajah: We will give them in his own words:

"As my finances are in utter diſorder, and the ſtate of my "country all in confuſion. I muſt throw my Self on the Company "for my preſent ſupport: I therefore wiſh Them to buy of Me, "at a reaſonable rate, all the grain of the preſent year; excepting "what my country may be in need of: by this meaſure the Com-"pany will not be burthened, and I ſhall be enabled to defray the "expences of my government without running in debt."

To the Fort of Devi Cotah.

"Finally, as the fort of Devi Cotah has no country annexed to "it, I beg the Company will take what they think proper as a de-"pendency thereon (*k*)."

The former accepted, the latter declined.

Of theſe offers, they being referred by his Lordſhip to the Board, the former was accepted as mutually advantageous, the latter declined as not warranted by the orders of the Company.

(*g*) See back, Sect. 1.
(*h*) See Ibid.
(*i*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 103, 104.
(*k*) See Ibid. vol. i. fol. 104.

Thus

Thus far the conduct of Lord Pigot is without reproach. Thus far at leaſt He acted as a faithful Servant, obedient to the orders of the Company; as an intelligent negociator, attentive to the ſpirit of his inſtructions. From all that has hitherto appeared, one charge, and one alone, can be collected.—That He had diſcernment to ſeize, and addreſs to inſure, the greateſt poſſible advantages which could be procured, by the reſtoration of the Rajah, both to that Rajah and to his own employers.

Lord Pigot's conduct thus far irreproachable.

From ſuch a charge little would He have to fear, unleſs at the tribunal of the Nabob: or, peradventure, at the tribunal of the Governor-general of Bengal. And, in truth, ſo eager was the latter to condemn that, rather than not condemn, He ſcrupled not to urge as the ground of almoſt a criminal charge—That the terms obtained from the Rajah were too advantageous to the Company to have been fairly obtained. This poſition advanced, He goes on to infer an *indirect influence*; hints his ſuſpicions, that the Rajah's letter was not his own *production*, but written by Lord Pigot to his Self (*l*).—This is tender ground; it is not for every man to tread it. Let *this* man aſk his Self:—"Is it for me to "ſtand forth and accuſe another of obtaining declarations by *indi*-"*rect influence?*" But, ere he anſwer, let him remember one thing—There are—at leaſt poſſibly there may be—who have read a certain printed trial of *Fowke* and others for a conſpiracy: poſſibly thoſe who have read this trial may have memories; they may not have forgotten, that, in the proceedings previous to that trial, a certain gentleman ſtands accuſed of this very charge of obtaining papers by indirect influence: That this accuſation is preferred, not upon ſuſpicion, not upon preſumption, not by inference, but in plain terms, but by a man who ſpeaks to facts to which he was an eye and an ear witneſs, who gave his depoſition upon oath, left it on record (*m*). Theſe men perhaps may be tempted to aſk;

Uncandid cenſure paſt on it by Mr. Haſtings.

(*l*) See Abſtract, fol. 86, 87.

(*m*) See the Paper marked N° 1, in fol. 15. of Depoſitions prefixed to the Trial of Fowke and others at Bengal, delivered by Commaul-ul-Deen Ally Cawn *upon the faith of his religion.*

is it from his own practice that this candid judge takes the rule by which to measure the conduct of Lord Pigot? What is meant by an *indirect* influence? Does it mean threats, compulsion? Not the minutest proof is alleged of the exertion of this kind of influence. That his Lordship acquainted the Rajah with the wishes of the Board, with the wishes of the Company; that He endeavoured to evince the reasonableness of these wishes, He does not barely acknowledge, He glories in it. But this is neither to threaten nor to compel. Why should He threaten or compel? What motive is suggested? Could this arrangement serve any private interest of Lord Pigot? Could it tend to fill his private purse? Could it serve to the gratification of his revenge, or to the calming of his fear? Had he any enemy to destroy? any prosecution to stop? Men seldom use an indirect influence to effectuate measures of which all the benefit is to go to the public. Why then must an indirect influence be suspected? Because "the offer made by the Rajah"—to pay a certain subsidy, and leave the protection of his country to the Company—"was contrary to the interests of the Rajah." The reverse of this has been shewn to be true. The Rajah thought otherwise; the Company thought otherwise. And not on this occasion, and not with respect to the Rajah alone. It is the very plan, which the Company has, for a long series of years, been constantly holding forth to the Nabob, as most conformable to *his interests*. The archives of the Company are full of remonstrances on this very head (*n*). And the arrears, which the Nabob now owes to his troops, are alone, were others wanting, an unanswerable proof, that it would be for the interest of the Nabob to make the same stipulation as the Rajah has made. But "other declarations of the "Rajah, inconsistent with his *independency*, tend to confirm the "suspicion."—When it suits the purpose of this impartial judge, the Rajah is a *vassal* (*o*); and to make any stipulation is a denial of the sovereignty of his Lord: when it suits his purpose the Rajah is *independent*; and to make any stipulation inconsistent with the dig-

(*n*) Many proofs appear in the Introduction, and in the Appendix.

(*o*) See Papers, vol. ii. fol. 291.

nity

nity of independence is a proof, that he acts under the preſſure of an indirect influence. But what are theſe declarations? Take them in the words of the Rajah—"*The country of Tanjore is the* "*Company's*: I have only to beg that They will preſerve my ho- "nour (*p*)." From the long reſidence of Mr. Haſtings in the Eaſt, it would not have been unreaſonable to expect his ear to be accuſtomed to the ſwell of eaſtern compliments: from the many offices he has holden under the Company, it would not have been unreaſonable to expect Him to be a little converſant in the archives of the Company. There He might have learned, that this declaration, much as it may pain the delicacy of his feelings, deeply as it may ſeem to him to wound the dignity of the independence of the Rajah, is but a *literal repetition* of the declaration made by the father of the Rajah: made, not when He was recovering a throne by our help but, when he was riſking a throne in our ſervice; when his troops were *fighting our* battles; when the ſubſiſtence of our troops depended upon his friendſhip (*q*).

1766. May 5—13. Lord Pigot returns to Madraſs, and his conduct is approved by the Board.

When it was propoſed that Lord Pigot ſhould go alone to Tanjore, unencumbered with co-deputies, unſhackled by other inſtructions, than thoſe of the Company; one objection we may remember to have been urged by Sir Robert Fletcher; namely, that He (Sir Robert) "*could not conſent to a delegation of the powers* "*of the Board.*" From this phraſe the reader might be tempted to think the candid author of the Caſe to be right; when, with his accuſtomed elegance and preciſion, he tells us, that "Lord Pigot "got the Council to delegate all power to himſelf alone, for *finiſh-* "*ing the buſineſs of* Tanjore (*r*);" and thence He might be led to conclude, that, from the hour of his departure to that of his return, his Lordſhip took no notice of the Board; gave Them no

(*p*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 104.

(*q*) See Appendix, B. No. XI. fol. 8.

(*r*) Caſe, fol. 16. There is, though the accuracy of this writer cannot, or his candor will not, ſee it, a wide difference between "*ſimply reſtoring the Rajah*, and "*finiſhing* the buſineſs of Tanjore."—The Rajah is reſtored, but bold is the man who aſſerts, that the buſineſs of Tanjore is finiſhed even yet.

information of his motions, or intentions, or actions; asked no advice; decided every thing; left nothing to be referred; and that, at his return, He contented his Self by telling Them, in the sullen language of Pilate—"*Quod feci, feci.*" Pardonable no doubt would be the reader, who, guided by such informants, should fall into this *mistake*. Still, however it would be a mistake. While he was at Tanjore his Lordship regularly corresponded with the Board (*s*); referred every thing to Them, decided nothing without Them, save only what was too plainly included in the orders of the Company, for restoring the Rajah, to admit either of doubt or of delay. He declared, under his hand, that He conceived his Self to be authorised *only* to carry into execution "the "*orders* of the Court of *Directors* for *restoring* the Rajah of Tan-"jore (*t*)" At his return He laid before the Board a diary of all his proceedings (*u*), together with such letters from the Nabob, and other papers which, having received them on the road, He had not yet found an opportunity of communicating. After an attentive consideration of this diary and these papers, the Board *approved of his Lordship's proceedings on his commission to Tanjore* (*x*). The approbation of the general line of his conduct was *unanimous*. But Sir Robert Fletcher, struck, as it should seem, with the propriety of his Lordship's proceedings, unwilling to approve, and unable to censure with success, after the first unanimous vote of approbation, retired from the Board under pretence of indisposition (*y*). Of the ten members who remained five, exclusive of the President, expressed their approbation without reserve; three approved the whole of his Lordship's conduct, save only in one single transaction; and a fourth objected to that one, and to a

(*s*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 100—115.

(*t*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 108.—The reader will soon have occasion to remark, that among the crimes urged against his Lordship are *this very declaration* and the consequent reference of Mr. Benfield's claims to the Council.

(*u*) See Narrative, fol. 66. Papers, vol. i. fol. 115—141.

(*x*) See Narrative, fol. 67. Papers, vol. i. fol. 148, 149.

(*y*) See ibid.

second,

ſecond, tranſaction; neither of which, however, materially affected the reſtoration of the Rajah (*z*).

Thus far at leaſt the approbation of the Council will be a full anſwer to any charge which that Council can bring againſt his Lordſhip. Then, when this approbation was given, They were in full poſſeſſion of every intelligence, of every document, which They poſſeſs now: nothing was with-holden from Them: even the letters of the Nabob were before Them: thoſe very letters, which, betraying all the art of an European Agent, boaſt of His—the Nabob's—"always declaring *his own opinions*, always ſug-"geſting his *own arguments*:" thoſe very letters which ſtate injuries never received, promiſes never given, and the acceptance of propoſals conſtantly rejected (*a*). But we need not rely upon the approbation of the Council. We may refer to a higher authority, to the Court of Directors. So late as the month of July in this preſent year, after the conduct of Lord Pigot had been fully canvaſſed, in Committees, in Courts of Directors, in General Courts, in the Houſe of Commons, the Court of Directors expreſt the *fulleſt*, the moſt *unreſerved*, approbation of this part of his Lordſhip's conduct. Let Them ſpeak their own language: this is what they ſay to the Rajah (*b*). And ſince approved by the Court of Directors.

"We cannot but embrace this opportunity to acknowledge the "receipt of your letter, dated the 21ſt of October 1776, by which

(*z*) See ibid. The two tranſactions to which objection was made, were the eſcorting the Dobbeer from the Nabob's country; and the flogging of Comera Dubaſh. Theſe tranſactions will be conſidered in the next ſection.

(*a*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 145—148. In theſe letters the Nabob pretends engagements from Lord Pigot—That his Kelledar was to remain in the Fort with the ſame authority he had before—That his troops were to be paid out of the Tanjore revenues—though on other occaſions he has repeatedly acknowledged, that Lord Pigot would not accept the Fort under *any conditions*. In theſe letters, He ſays, that the *whole of the rent of the* Tanjore country was aſſigned to his creditors, though He had before talked of a part of theſe rents, which were to be kept *untouched*, till the Company's orders could be known.

(*b*) See Letter from the Court of Directors to the Rajah of Tanjore, dated July 2d, 1777. India Houſ.

"You

"You have been pleaſed to open a correſpondence, which muſt "give Us the greateſt ſatisfaction; as We would firmly believe, "that it will prove the beginning of that *amicable intercourſe*, ariſ- "ing not only *from inclination*, but from the *conſideration of mutual* "*advantage*."

"We are truly convinced of your *friendly diſpoſition* towards Us, "by the uncommon warmth You have ſhewn for our intereſt, "particularly by the *offer You made our Preſident*, of conferring on "Us a grant of land round Devi Cotah; and although our Preſi- "dent did not then think *him Self authoriſed* to receive it, We ſhall "*with grateful thanks accept this farther mark of your attachment*, "in the grant of ſuch tract of lands, as may be of ſervice to Us, "and not productive of any inconvenience to your Self: at the "ſame time *We wiſh to declare our entire ſatisfaction at the terms* "*which have been ſettled between You and our Preſident*; by which "You have been pleaſed to fix an *annual ſubſidy* for the proviſion of "ſuch military expences as may be incurred for the defence of the "country of Tanjore."

"Thus happy in the future proſpect of a *long* and *uninterrupted* "*union with You* We moſt ardently wiſh, We could as well ſecure "You in the enjoyment of all *public and domeſtic bleſſings*, as We "ſhall *convince* You that the Engliſh Eaſt India Company will ne- "ver withdraw their protection from Thoſe, *whoſe rights have a* "*claim upon their juſtice*."

Claims of Paul Benfield examined.

Thus far, then, as to the firſt great object of the Company's inſtructions, namely, the reſtoration of the Rajah. That was entruſted to Lord Pigot alone: and it was happily and honourably accompliſhed. This his enemies, this his accuſers, confeſt at the time: this his Employers have ſince confirmed. But much remained to be done ere the whole purpoſe of the Company with reſpect to Tanjore could be ſaid to be fulfilled: ere "the affairs "reſpecting Tanjore" could be ſaid (in the words of the Company) to be "*accommodated*," to be "*finally adjuſted* (*c*)." New

(*c*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 25.

difficulties

difficulties ſoon aroſe. For, immediately after his Lordſhip's return to Madraſs, a claim came under the conſideration of the Board, by the event of which the accommodation, the final adjuſtment, of the affairs reſpecting Tanjore could not but be very materially affected. This claim was made by a man of the name of *Benfield*. We have heard of Him already. And, as the ſupport of this claim had no ſmall ſhare in overthrowing the Government of Fort St. George, every part of this tranſaction deſerves a minute attention.

Grounds of this claim.

The lands on the Coaſt of Coromandel are generally cultivated by the communities of the reſpective villages. The produce forms a common ſtock. Out of this ſtock certain portions are allotted to the public officers; certain portions to the maintenance of the Pagodas, the repair of the Tanks, and other public ſervices; certain portions to the government. The remainder appertains to the communies who cultivate. This arrangement has its advantages: each of theſe claſſes is a check on the others. The portions allotted to Government and to the cultivators vary according to the expence and labour of cultivation. The cultivators are generally poor. They are therefore obliged to borrow money. The Shroffs, or Bankers, were accuſtomed to advance the ſums that were wanting; which ſums were payable out of the portions a llotted to the cultivators. But, for ſome years, the Nabob has choſen to unite the profits of a Banker with the dignity of a Governor. Mr. Benfield pretended, that He had advanced large ſums of money; ſome to the Nabob for his own uſe, ſome to a ſon of the Nabob for the uſe of the inhabitants, ſome directly to the inhabitants of the Tanjore country. For the payment of theſe ſums, He farther pretended that, the Nabob, and his ſon, and the inhabitants, had made aſſignments on their reſpective ſhares of the crop of the current year. He farther pretended to have large quantities of grain, the produce of former years.

His application to Lord Pigot previ-

Previous to Lord Pigot's departure for Tanjore, Mr. Benfield had (to uſe his own words) "acquainted his Lordſhip *generally* of "his

ous to his departure for Tanjore.

" his claims on the Tanjore country (*d*)." But from nothing which Mr. Benfield laid before the Board, in the beginning of this tranſaction, does it appear, that He then " communicated to his Lord-" ſhip the *nature* of his claims," or that, from any thing which " his Lordſhip had ſaid to Him, He was *encouraged* to accompany " Him to Tanjore."—That was an after-thought (*e*). Pity it was, that Mr. Benfield's accounts and vouchers were not ready at that time: pity it is, that He does not even yet inform Us *what* He " repreſented to be the nature of his *property* and his *claims* on the " Tanjore country." For thence only could We judge, whether his Lordſhip ought, as Mr. Benfield ſuppoſes He ought, to have " conſidered the repreſentation as a matter of importance for the " conſideration of the Board;" " reported it to the Board." Thence only could We judge, whether " the ſatisfaction Mr. Ben-" field received from his Lordſhip in *words*" was ſuch as reaſonably " to induce Him (Mr. Benfield) to believe the repreſentation He " made to Lord Pigot ſufficient;" as to juſtify Him in neglecting " to acquaint the Board of his claims, at the laſt conſulation, be-" fore his Lordſhip's departure for Tanjore *(f)*."

His account of Lord Pigot's anſwer.

The ſatisfaction, as He calls it, which He received from Lord Pigot, conſiſted, according to his own ſhewing, of two parts. It conſiſted firſt of a declaration, on the part of his Lordſhip, " that " He could have no wiſh or deſire to deliver over the *property* of his

(*d*) See P. S. of Mr. Benfield's Letter to Lord Pigot. Papers, vol. i. fol. 108.

(*e*) See Letter from the New government at Madraſs, Narrative, fol. 65. In this Letter the new government give an abſtract of their proceedings from the arrival, to the arreſt, of Lord Pigot. Speaking of this buſineſs of Benfield, they refer to a Letter written on the 22d, and read at the Board the 24th, of April; in which Letter *They* ſay, He informed Them of this previous communication of the *nature* of his claims; and of his *encouragement* to accompany Lord Pigot to Tanjore. But that Letter ſays no ſuch thing. It ſays only, " He acquainted Lord Pigot " *generally* of his claims:" which probably means only, that he acquainted Him in general terms, that " *He had claims.*" Not one word does that Letter ſay of *encouragement* to accompany his Lordſhip *thither*. He did not recollect this *encouragement* till the beginning of June. It is good to be accurate in dates.

(*f*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 198.

fellow-

fellow-ſubject to a Gentoo (*g*)."—In this his Lordſhip was moſt undoubtedly ſincere. As ſincere would He moſt undoubtedly have been, had He ſaid, that "He could have no wiſh, no deſire, to "deliver over the *property of a Gentoo to his fellow-ſubject*." But He might have, and He ought to have, a ſtrong wiſh, a ſtrong deſire, to be duly convinced, that what was claimed, whether by his fellow-ſubject or by a Gentoo, was *indeed the property* of the claimant. The *ſatisfaction* He received from Lord Pigot conſiſted farther, as He tells Us, of an aſſent, on the part of his Lordſhip, that Mr. Benfield might either ſend a perſon, or go his Self, "*to* "*repreſent what this property was on the ſpot* (*h*)." It ſhould ſeem then, by his own ſhewing, that He had not *clearly* repreſented to his Lordſhip, what was the *nature* of his property.

His application to Lord Pigot at Tanjore, with the amount of his claims.

To Tanjore Mr. Benfield went. And no ſooner had his Lordſhip cauſed the reſtoration of the Rajah to be given out in public orders, than Mr. Benfield wrote Him a letter, in which He ſets forth, that He had claims upon the Nabob for *money lent*: that, as a ſecurity for this debt, the Nabob had mortgaged to Him the product of the diſtrict of Munnoorgoody; and as a farther ſecurity, had ordered the grain belonging to the Circar, to be depoſited with Him as collected. The amount of this debt, for *money lent*, he ſtates to be *about three hundred and ſeventy thouſand pagodas*. He farther ſets forth, that he had two other claims upon the Nabob for *caſh lent* (*i*); the one amounting to twenty thouſand pagodas; and for this He ſays He had aſſignments on the diſtricts of Papanaſhem; the other amounting to fifteen thouſand pagodas, for which He had aſſignments on the diſtrict of Putcotah. The whole

(*g*) See Ibid.

(*h*) See Ibid. The reader muſt not forget, that this converſation paſt, this ſatisfaction in words was given in the month of March, but not recollected as it ſhould ſeem, till the month of June.

(*i*) I am not well enough acquainted with Mr. Benfield's ſtyle to know whether there is any difference intended, between *money* lent and *caſh* lent.

of his claims then on the *Nabob* amounted to *four hundred and five thouſand pagodas*; equal to about *one hundred and ſixty-two thouſand pounds* ſterling. He farther ſets forth, that He had aſſignments of the debts of the inhabitants, in the ſeveral diſtricts, for advances made to Them, to enable Them to carry on the cultivation; amounting to about one hundred and twenty thouſand pagodas. Grain and other debts, due to Him from individuals, He ſtates to amount together to about ſixty thouſand pagodas more. His claims, we ſee, were conſiderable. Thoſe on the Nabob amounted to four hundred and five thouſand pagodas; equal to one hundred and ſixty-two thouſand pounds: thoſe on individuals to *one hundred and eighty thouſand* pagodas; equal to about *ſeventy-two thouſand pounds*. Upon the whole then his demands amounted to about *two hundred and thirty-four thouſand pounds*. A goodly ſum for any ſubordinate Servant of the Company to have advanced! Not neceſſary did it appear to Mr. Benfield to produce a ſingle voucher for theſe demands; to ſay any thing of the time when they accrued, nor any thing more of the conſideration, than generally, that it was "*money lent*," "*caſh lent*," "*aſſignments given*." And this He modeſtly ſtiles "*particular information*" given to his Lordſhip; as contradiſtinguiſhed from the "*general acquaintance*" his Lordſhip had of the affair at Madraſs. This particular information being given, He calls on his Lordſhip, as a *mere matter of courſe*, to ſecure to Him the payment of theſe ſums: "He truſted, "that the *juſtice* of his Lordſhip would ſecure to Him the recovery "of his money (*k*)."

Lord Pigot's anſwer, referring him to the Board.

What may be the ideas of juſtice, what the method of tranſacting buſineſs, in India, I know not. Had Lord Pigot been ſent as Mr. Benfield, in one of his letters, affects to believe that He was ſent, with a full and excluſive power of finiſhing all the affairs relating to Tanjore, inſtead of being ſent for the ſole purpoſe of re-

(*k*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 107, 108.

ſtoring

ſtoring the Rajah; had the tranſactions between Mr. Benfield and his debtors appeared, by his own ſtate of them, to have been ever ſo fair, ever ſo regular; had the mortgages appeared to have been of the nature of common mortgages, granted by a rightful poſſeſſor, for a valuable conſideration; had his claims involved no political queſtion; ſtill, according to my notions of juſtice, on the bare word of Mr. Benfield—reſpectable as that word muſt be—without a ſingle voucher, without the offer of producing a voucher; with no proof of the time when, of the conſideration for which, theſe ſums were advanced; Lord Pigot could not take a ſingle ſtep towards ſecuring the *recovery* of ſo large a ſum. But, in truth, Lord Pigot ſaw that theſe claims, thus ſet forth, did involve two political queſtions, which He did not conceive his Self to be authoriſed to decide. His Lordſhip therefore gave the only anſwer which could, with propriety, be given. Theſe are his words:

"Being authoriſed *only to* carry into execution the orders of the "Court of Directors *for reſtoring the Rajah of Tanjore*, and being, "by thoſe orders, commanded to aſſure the Rajah, in the Com-"pany's name:

"That They will ſeverely puniſh every military officer, or "ſervant of the Company, who ſhall, in any reſpect, inter-"fere in the affairs of his Government; and to take eſpecial "care that this article be punctually fulfilled:"

"I am unable, without the aſſiſtance of my Council, to ſay more "in reply to the letter, You have been pleaſed to addreſs Me, than "that I will, on my *return* to Madraſs, *lay the ſame before Them*."

Benfield applies to the Board.

The meaning of this letter ſeems to be clear, and unequivocal. To miſconceive it muſt require no common underſtanding, no common talents to miſrepreſent it. Impoſſible would it have appeared to me to diſcover in it any thing like an "inſinuation that

"Lord Pigot would exert all the authority of Government againſt "Mr. Benfield, if He inſiſted on his *right*." But to ſome men all things are poſſible: to the author of the *Caſe* this has been poſſible (*l*). The merit of this diſcovery is not, however, the ſole property of this ſagacious writer: to ſome ſhare of it Mr. Benfield has his claim.—"I cannot conceive" (ſays he in a letter to Lord Pigot) "that my ſetting forth, to your *Lordſhip*, my *firſt* claims "on the Tanjore country can be conſidered in any reſpect to inter-"fere with the Rajah's Government (*m*)." Where did Lord Pigot tell him that it was ſo conſidered? Lord Pigot recites the orders of the Company; he ſtates that his *ſeparate authority extended only to the reſtoration of the Rajah*, and not to the final adjuſtment of other matters relating to the country of Tanjore. And what inference does he draw? Simply this. I cannot, without a breach of the order recited, *ſo far interfere in the affairs of the Rajah's Government*, as to enforce the payment of theſe ſums, till I have the aid and aſſiſtance of my Council. But Mr. Benfield, miſunderſtanding the plain and obvious ſenſe of his Lordſhip's anſwer, was exceedingly offended. And men who miſunderſtand are often apt to be offended. In a ſhort, angry, note, written in reply to his Lordſhip, He talks of the hardſhip of being "*deprived* of a "*right*," which He had not yet proved, and of which Lord Pigot had done nothing to *deprive* Him; complains, that "the mode "propoſed by his Lordſhip"—of waiting till he could have the aid and aſſiſtance of his Council—"would cauſe delay, and be hurt-"ful to his affairs (*n*)." And then, without waiting for his Lordſhip's return to Madraſs, He wrote a letter to the Council, ſtating what had paſt between his Lordſhip and his Self, and expreſſing his "*full confidence*, that *They* would afford Him all reaſonable aid "and aſſiſtance to ſecure to Him the recovery of his *property*, *while* "*the Right Honourable Preſident under their commiſſion remained in* "*authority over thoſe countries*:" and He added,—"*That He ſhould*

(*l*) See Caſe, fol. 16.
(*m*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 109.
(*n*) See Ibid.

"*be*

"*be ready at any time, to lay before them ſufficient vouchers* (o)." To Lord Pigot, we have obſerved, Mr. Benfield had not condeſcended to ſay a ſyllable about vouchers. Did He go to Tanjore without them? He might as well have ſtaid at Madraſs. Did He carry thoſe vouchers with Him? Why not produce them to Lord Pigot? Why not offer to produce them, when He called on his Lordſhip's *juſtice* to ſecure the recovery of his money? We next ſee Him calling on the Board for *reaſonable* aid and aſſiſtance, to ſecure to Him the recovery of his property: this aid, and aſſiſtance, he deſires to be exerted directly; during Lord Pigot's ſtay at Tanjore. Do the vouchers accompany this demand? Without vouchers could any aid or aſſiſtance be *reaſonable?* No, but He ſhould be ready *at any time* to produce them. Why not produce them now? Could there be a *fitter* time?—Whatever He might mean to be thereafter, then, it is clear beyond a doubt, He was not ready with his vouchers. The truth of the caſe ſeems to have been this. He foreſaw, that his addreſs to the Board muſt be communicated to his Lordſhip; that his vouchers, had He produced them, muſt likewiſe have been tranſmitted to his Lordſhip; and He knew He had no vouchers that could ſtand the teſt of an examination by the Preſident, aſſiſted by the officers of the revenue of Tanjore, on the ſpot. He therefore gravely propoſed to the Board, that They ſhould inſtantly recover for Him, what He choſe to call, his property; and then, one time or another, when they could anſwer no end, He would be ready to produce his vouchers. And of the compliance of the Board with this very modeſt demand, He declared that, He had the fulleſt confidence.

Extraordinary as this confidence might appear to a ſtranger, it was not perhaps ſo ill founded. Mr. Benfield knew his men. The information He had given to his Lordſhip had, we ſee, been very general; but to ſome, at leaſt, of the members of the Board he

The Board defers the conſideration of his claims till Lord Pigot's return.

(o) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 109.

ſeems,

ſeems, in the explanation of his claims, to have been more particular, more intelligible, more ſenſible. To them, perhaps, he had produced vouchers: or ſomething as convincing as vouchers. For Members of the Board were not wanting, who were ready to ſupport his claims, before He was ready, I will not ſay to prove but even, to make them. Before Mr. Benfield's epiſtle was read to the Board, They had, we learn (*p*) "undoubted informa-"tion" that claims would be ſet up, which they were clearly diſpoſed to allow and ſupport. As ſoon as Mr. Benfield's very modeſt epiſtle had been read, thoſe, who had not been bleſt with this *undoubted information* propoſed very naturally, that "the letter "ſhould be tranſmitted to his Lordſhip; and the conſideration of "it deferred till his return (*q*)." Others (*r*), more highly favoured, bleſt with undoubted information, were for taking the buſineſs into immediate conſideration. It happened, however, that the majority of the Board was not yet gifted with undoubted information. It was therefore reſolved to tranſmit the letter to Lord Pigot, and to defer the conſideration of it till his Lordſhip's return (*s*).

1776. May 17—20. The Board takes the claims of Paul Benfield into conſideration.

Some few days then after his Lordſhip's return, notice was given to Mr. Benfield, that the Board had appointed a day for taking his claims into conſideration: and that He was to prepare and lay before Them *whatever elſe* He might have to offer on the ſubject (*t*). It would be to do injuſtice to the diſcernment of Mr. Benfield to ſuppoſe him ignorant of the purport of this phraſe—"Whatever elſe he might have to offer on the ſubject."—He muſt have connected it with, and explained it by, his own offer of producing vouchers. On the day appointed, however, two letters of

(*p*) Sir Robert Fletcher. See Minutes of a Conſultation previous to the reading of Mr. Benfield's Letter. Papers, vol. i. fol. 106.

(*q*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 110.

(*r*) Sir Robert Fletcher, Mr. Mackay, and Mr. Palmer.

(*s*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 114.

(*t*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 159. This notice was given on Friday May the 17th. The day appointed was Monday 20th.

Mr.

Mr. Benfield's arrived. They contain, what He calls—"a *plain* "*ſtate* of his claims on the Tanjore country."—This plain ſtate conſiſts of complaints inſtead of proofs; takes his claims for granted; talks of America and the Weſt Indies; but ſays nothing about *vouchers*; ſave only, that He "*truſts the Nabob will vouch for* "*Him* (*u*)." One would not not be uncandid—yet it is impoſſible not to remark that, if the ſums clained by this worthy gentleman were really and bona fide advanced, He muſt long ſince have had his vouchers: for He has been accuſtomed to *mercantile* concerns (*x*): and exactitude in vouchers is the life and ſoul of mercantile concerns. Why not produce them? Why refer to the Nabob? Why *truſt* to the Nabob?

May 23—27. The Board calls on Him for vouchers which are not ready.

When the orders of the Company were to be communicated to the Nabob, they were anxious, we have ſeen, that the communication ſhould be made with "*caution and delicacy* (*y*)." When a notice was to be ſent to Mr. Benfield, the friend of the Nabob, that notice too muſt be given with *caution and delicacy*. For in the firſt notice, the reader will have obſerved, They did not uſe that ugly, uncouth term, *vouchers*. Mr. Benfield was politely deſired "to prepare and lay before Them whatever elſe He might have to "offer on the ſubject."—Now vouchers He had not to offer. At laſt, however, on the 20th of May, the Board got the better of their ſcruples; ſtept aſide from the line of caution and delicacy; and the Secretary was ordered "to call upon Him (Benfield), pur- "ſuant to his letter of the 22d ultimo, to lay before the Board *ſuf-* "*ficient vouchers*, &c. of his claims, as well as to furniſh them with "every neceſſary information relative to the *nature* and *circum-* "*ſtances*, of thoſe claims; and the *periods* at which the debts were "contracted (*z*)." Theſe were hard lines: Mr. Benfield could not eaſily digeſt them. On the 27th of May, however, He ſent—not

(*u*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 161, 162.
(*y*) See back, fol. 69.
(*x*) See Introduction, fol. 65.
(*z*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 162.

his

his vouchers but—a letter, repreſenting that He *had not been able* to prepare Them (*a*). Be attentive to dates. Lord Pigot left Madraſs to go to Tanjore, in the month of March. Then Mr. Benfield was ſo thoroughly maſter of the *nature* and extent of his claims; had *repreſented them ſo clearly* to his Lordſhip—ſo He tells us afterwards—that He thought his Self entitled to call on the *juſtice* of his Lordſhip, to call on the *juſtice* of the Board, to ſecure theſe claims, this property to Him. And now, behold! On the 27th of May, two whole months afterwards, *He has not been able to prepare* his vouchers (*b*).

May 28th. Inſufficient vouchers produced.

At length, however, the vouchers were produced. What were they? Firſt, a ſtate of ſums due to Mr. Benfield from the Nabob, for advances made at eleven different periods, beginning at the 7th of February and ending on the 17th of November 1775, amounting in all to three hundred ſixty-nine thouſand ninety pagodas and a fraction; which ſums, He ſays, were ſecured on the diſtrict of Munnurgoody (*c*). Then comes a ſtatement of other twenty thouſand pagodas ſecured on Papanaſhen, for money advanced for the troops of the Nabob in January 1775. Then comes a ſtatement of other fifteen thouſand pagodas, ſecured on Puttcotah, for money advanced for the Fort of Tanjore in November 1774. All theſe orders, We are told, were *duly* regiſtered by the Dobbeer in the

(*a*) See Ibid. fol. 164.

(*b*) His phraſe is—"to prepare his letter in anſwer to that of the Secretary." Now the only anſwer to that letter was *vouchers*. To prepare them might indeed require time: for the letter itſelf of Mr. Benfield it required no preparation: a ſchool-boy would have written it in five minutes.

(*c*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 166, 167. Lord Pigot arrived in Madraſs in the very beginning of December: ſix weeks before his arrival, it was known that Governor Wynch was recalled *; that Lord Pigot was coming out; that the Rajah was to be reſtored: according to Mr. Benfield's own ſtatement upwards of 150,000 pagodas were advanced to the Nabob on aſſignments given on the Tanjore country in the month of November, that is, after it was known at Madraſs, that the country was to be given to the Rajah. Theſe vouchers were long in preparing, and damning when prepared.

* See Governor Wynch's Letter to Lord Pigot.

Cutchery.

Cutchery. By *duly*, I ſuppoſe, we are to underſtand, in due *time*, as well as due *form* (*d*). Is any certificate of the Dobbeer produced? Perhaps, by the vigilance of Lord Pigot, the Dobbeer was removed from *Arrialor* before he had received proper inſtructions. But, in default of this certificate, You have the word of Mr. Benfield. Moreover, the Nabob certifies the debts; and the Nabob certifies that, as a ſecurity for theſe debts, he had given the orders aforeſaid, on the diſtricts aforeſaid: and, beyond all this, the Nabob certifies the *time* when the aſſignment for the principal debt, the aſſignment on Munnurgoody, was given. And this is, perhaps, the moſt material part of the Nabob's certificate. The aſſignment *was given in the end of November* (*e*). That is, long after the arrival of Lord Pigot to reſtore Tanjore to the Rajah was publicly expected (*f*): within a few days of his actual arrival. Then it was—ſo the Nabob declares—he aſſigned the produce of the Tanjore country to his creditors, for debts contracted before: then it was—ſo the Nabob declares—Mr. Benfield, a ſervant of the Company, accepted that aſſignment, from a man declared, whom he knew to be declared, by his Maſters, to be a tortious poſſeſſor; againſt a man declared, by the ſame Maſters, to be the rightful poſſeſſor. When the other aſſignments were made his Highneſs does *not* certify. His Highneſs likewiſe certifies, that another demand of *one hundred and twenty thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-nine pagodas*, which Mr. Benfield made upon the cultivator's ſhare of the crop, *did not accrue* from money Mr. Benfield had advanced directly to the inhabitants. Mr. Benfield indeed has money concerns with them directly; but not to this amount: in ſuch large concerns he has a Prince for his broker. For his Highneſs certifies that this demand accrued as follows. His Highneſs's ſon, Ameer ul Omrah Behauder, had made *advances* to the inhabitants,

(*d*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 168, 169.

(*e*) See Ibid. fol. 170.

(*f*) See Governor Wynch's Letter to Lord Pigot. See Letter from the Rajah to the Court of Directors, 21ſt of Octob. 1776. India Houſe.

according to his own valuation, to the amount of this article of Mr. Benfield's claim; for theſe *advances* his Highneſs's ſon had taken bonds from the inhabitonts, payable to his Self: but his Highneſs's ſon had likewiſe received advances of Mr. Benfield, for the *uſe of his father*, to the ſame amount. For this debt his Highneſs's ſon had given his *own* bond; and then, as a collateral ſecurity, aſſigned over the bonds of the inhabitants. This gives an air of *equal dignity* to this as to the preceding debts (*g*). There was beſides another demand of about thirty thouſand pagodas (*h*), due directly from the inhabitants. For this no body certifies; but you have the reſpectable ſignature of *Paul Benfield*.

The Board call for other vouchers and more particular accounts.

Neither Mr. Benfield nor his friends ſeem to have been fond of this uncivil demand of vouchers. They endeavoured therefore to frighten one monſter by another; and, inſtead of vouchers, talked of *writs*. For we learn that "endeavours were uſed to perſuade "the Members of the Board, that They were liable, as indivi-"duals, to proſecutions at law for their conduct, in their public "capacity, concerning theſe aſſignments of Mr. Benfield (*i*)." Not terrified with ſo impotent a threat, the Board, however, venture "to call upon Mr. Benfield for an account of the particulars "of the ſums he had *received* from the Tanjore country"—A part of a *plain ſtate* which, it ſeems, had totally eſcaped the accuracy of Mr. Benfield—They call on him, beſides, "for the bonds from "the inhabitants to Ameer ul Omrah .... likewiſe for a particular account of the debts of 60,000 chuckrams due to him from "ſundry of the inhabitants (*k*)."

In proportion as the Board grew inquiſitive Mr. Benfield waxed wroth. His anſwer to this demand is in a ſtile, which, his friends

(*g*) See Ibid. fol. 170.
(*h*) 60,000 chuckrams, ib. fol. 169.
(*i*) See Ibid. fol. 171.
(*k*) See Ibid. fol. 170, 171.

muſt

must allow, borders on the petulant. Always, He ſays, had He divided his claims into four heads. The firſt was the mortgage on Munnurgoody: this the Nabob had avowed: and of the circumſtances of the regiſtry of the deeds, and of the delivery of poſſeſſion, "*doubtleſs the Dobbeer had informed his Lordſhip* (*l*)." On account of this demand, his people "had received a *few thouſand* chuck-"rams:" "the *exact ſum he could not give.*"—"Whatever it was "*would be duly credited* (*m*)." As to proofs of the ſecond head, the claims on Papanaſhem and Puttcotah, He had nothing new to add; the Nabob had avowed them. As to the third head, the hundred and twenty thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-nine pagodas due from the inhabitants, the bonds of his Highneſs's ſon were as clearly avowed by the Nabob as his own bonds; and who ſhall doubt the word of the Nabob? As to the bonds of the inhabitants, given *as a collateral ſecurity* for this ſum, Mr. Benfield "*had them not at Madraſs.*"—In truth He did not ſeem to know where He had them, or whether He had them any where; or who had them; or whether any body had them: but "He concluded that they were either "depoſited in the Cutchery, or in the hands of his people to the "Southward (*n*)." As to the fourth claim of ſixty thouſand chuckrams, it now, for the *firſt time*, I think, aroſe "from ballances due on accounts current:" and a *ſet of books only could furniſh the council with particulars* (*o*). And truly, I believe, that was the very evidence which the Council might have wiſhed to have ſeen. No books, however, were produced. Probably the books were along with the bonds; depoſited in the Cutchery; or in the hands of his convenient friends, his *black-men* to the Southward (*p*).

Which he does not produce.

(*l*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 174.—Why not produce a certificate from the Dobbeer?—Why not deſire the Dobbeer to give this certificate to Lord Pigot at Tanjore?

(*m*) Ibid. (*n*) See Ibid. fol. 175.

(*o*) See Ibid.

(*p*) I was once at the ſittings at Guildhall, when a certain Knight—who having began the world by teaching grown gentlemen to figure in a dance, had his Self figured afterwards in a banking-houſe, and afterwards ſomewhere elſe—was

But demands his property to be reſtored.

To a man accuſtomed to the practice of Engliſh Courts of Juſtice, this ſort of evidence, in ſupport of a demand of about a quarter of a million, might be treated rather harſhly. It would not, I believe, have procured a verdict for forty ſhillings in any court of Weſtminſter Hall: it would not have been thought ſufficient to recover five ſhillings in a Court of Conſcience. But Mr. Benfield, conſcious, I ſuppoſe, of his own integrity, and nothing doubting of the ſufficiency of the proofs He had alleged, talks in the ſtile of a man who had fully eſtabliſhed his claims; demands "that his *property* may be reſtored;" "that *juſtice* may be done to "Him;" "that what He is *entitled* to may be ſecured to Him;" "that the mortgages, aſſignments, and orders may be *diſcharged*;" "that the Rajah may cauſe the inhabitants to pay to Him what is "*juſtly* due, and what *ſhall* be proved to be juſtly due, to Him (*q*)." A more reaſonable requeſt could not well be made by a man, whoſe property had been ſo clearly aſcertained; whoſe rights had been ſo fully conſtated.

And brings unſupported charges againſt Lord Pigot.

Had He ſtopt here, the moderation of Mr. Benfield as a man, would perhaps have been equal to his exactitude as a merchant. And peradventure, there may be, among the cooler part of his friends, who might have almoſt wiſhed that He had ſtopt here. But who ſhall reſtrain the generous indignation of injured innocence? In Mr. Benfield that indignation is impetuous. In the beginning of his letter He burſts forth into complaints "of the "injuries He had ſuſtained from the meaſures and conduct of Lord "Pigot, whilſt acting under the commiſſion of the Board, in "cauſing the grain that had been depoſited with Him to be ſeized "by the Company's Seapoys, and in depriving Him of the means

called as a witneſs to prove a debt which his aſſignees ſuppoſed to be due to his eſtate. The Counſel aſked for his *books*; but the Knight, having gracefully ſaluted the Court, aſſured Them "He had been employed in a buſineſs of too much "conſequence to attend to the keeping of books."

(*q*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 175, 176.

"farther

"farther to *collect the revenues* (*r*)." Having eaſed his mind by this ſally, He deſcends, as We have ſeen, to all the painful minuteneſs of inveſtigation and proof. And then, to end as He had began, "begs leave to ſuggeſt, that Lord Pigot, in this inſtance, "was become a party (*s*)."—This was a diſcovery, which, I own, ſurpriſed me. It ſurpriſed me too, I own, that Mr. Benfield ſhould, on this occaſion, be ſo ready with his vouchers. Hear them.—"It is by *his* (Lord Pigot's) meaſures; in the execution "of *his* orders, that I am deprived of my *property* (*t*)."—Nor ready only is Mr. Benfield at adducing, but quite an orator in giving weight to his vouchers. Mark how, at one moment, he ſooths, at the next, he alarms his Judges!—"When I appeal to your "candour, and to your juſtice, is it conſiſtent He ſhould be one "of my Judges? Had the meaſures I complain of been adopted *by* "*your particular orders*, I know not how the ſubject of my repre-"ſentations could have been a *queſtion before your Board* (*u*)." Here, however, Mr. Benfield, as orators are ſometimes apt to be, was hurried beyond the limits of prudence. This pathetic appeal to the juſtice, and the candor of his Judges induced them—and it could not do leſs—to call for theſe tyrannical orders of Lord Pigot. Not one ſyllable did they contain perſonally about Mr. Benfield: they were only general orders, couched almoſt in the very words of an order of Council. They were found, and unanimouſly voted, to be "conformable to the reſolution of Council of the "25th of March laſt, and the powers veſted in Lord Pigot by the "Board to carry the orders of the Company into execution (*x*)."

(*r*) Ibid. fol. 174.
(*s*) Ibid. fol. 176.
(*t*) Ibid.
(*u*) See Ibid.
(*x*) See Ibid. fol. 176—179. Sir Robert Fletcher, indeed thinks they ought to have been communicated *through* Colonel Harpur to the inferior officers.—But the queſtion was not upon military etiquette. The reader would do well to compare this account of the complaints againſt Lord Pigot by Mr. Benfield with the uncandid repreſentation of the ſame facts given by the author of the "Caſe:" let Him then judge of the unworthy inſinuations thrown out by this declamatory writer. See Caſe, fol. 14—17.

So

So that they were no longer the orders of Lord Pigot; but *meaſures* adopted by the *particular orders* of the Board. According to his own argument therefore, "the ſubject of his repreſentation could be no longer a queſtion before the Board." According to his own argument the matter was become a diſpute between Him and the Board. It ſhould therefore have been referred to the Company at home. This was what he certainly did not wiſh. He meant only to remove Lord Pigot from his chair; but, ſo gigantic was his rage, he overthrew Preſident and Council together.

May 29. The Board declare Mr. Benfield's claims inadmiſſible.

The Board having heard with patience, and conſidered with attention, all that Mr. Benfield thought fit to lay before Them on the ſubject of his claims, a motion was made and carried in the affirmative, which ought, for ever, to have precluded this buſineſs from being again brought before the Board: "that the Rajah of "Tanjore, being put in *full* poſſeſſion and management of his coun-"try, by the Company's expreſs orders, it is the opinion of the "Board, that it is not in their power to comply with Mr. Ben-"field's requeſts in *any* reſpect: thoſe claims on individuals which "bear the appearance of having no connection with Government, "not being ſufficiently explained to enable the Board to form an "opinion thereon: and the aſſignments of the Nabob not being "admiſſible *(y)*."

Propriety of this reſolution.

The name of Mr. Benfield will unavoidably obtrude it Self upon Us again, during the courſe of this Defence. But here I would wiſh to cloſe all that I mean to ſay on the ſubject of theſe claims. There were three grounds, on either of which alone they ought to have been rejected. The claims were ſupported by no evidence:

(y) Papers, fol. 180.

For the Queſtion.		Againſt the Queſtion.	
Lord Pigot,	Mr. Ruſſel,	Mr. Stratton,	Sir Robert Fletcher,
Mr. Dawſon,	Mr. Dalrymple,	Mr. Palmer,	Mr. Jourdan,
Mr. Brooke,	Mr. Stone.	Mr. Mackay.	

The

The tranſactions, from which the pretended debts accrued, were contrary to the *ſtanding* orders of the Company: And they were contrary to the particular orders of the Company reſpecting the reſtoration of the Rajah.

Becauſe the claims were unſupported by evidence.

Firſt, as to the want of evidence. This affects, indifferently, *all* his claims; whether the public on government, or the private on individuals. Thoſe which can properly be called *private* claims were indeed but an inconſiderable part of the whole. Only the thirty thouſand pagodas, and the *old* grain. The manner in which the former accrues is differently ſtated; at one time, it accrues from advances made to the inhabitants; at another from the balances of accounts current. But not a ſingle proof is given that He ever made any advances to the inhabitants, that He had any accounts open with them. Not a ſingle proof was given that He was in poſſeſſion of any old grain; or that any officer or Seapoy had taken this grain from Him, or hindered Him from ſelling it. He was called upon to name "any Officer or Seapoy who had "acted improperly (z)." Not one could He name. That He had grain, old grain, is probable. It was the remains of corn bought up, in the preceding year, with a *view of creating an artificial famine:* and which now, being damaged and not being fit for uſe, was not worth ſeizing. The demands, accruing from the aſſignments of the Nabob, are clearly *public* demands on the government. Of theſe, what voucher is produced? The certificate of the Nabob: that, and that only. That is, the certificate of a wrongful, againſt a rightful, poſſeſſor; of a man who, by this very certificate, was throwing a debt off his own ſhoulders on the ſhoulders of another. The demand accruing from the bonds of the ſon of the Nabob, and ſaid to be collaterally ſecured by the aſſignment of the bonds of the inhabitants, is likewiſe a *public demand* on the Government. The Nabob ſays the advances were made by Benfield to aſſiſt *him*. For the debt itſelf no other voucher

(*h*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 179.

is

is produced, than the certificate of the Nabob. The bonds of the inhabitants are *not* produced. Had they been produced, they might perhaps have proved that the ſon of the Nabob had advanced to the inhabitants *no money*, *no implements* of huſbandry; that the *ſeed* was part of the corn which Benfield had bought up with a view of creating an artificial famine; and which the ſon of the Nabob, to ſerve the purpoſes of Benfield, had *compelled* the inhabitants to purchaſe at an extravagant price (*a*). This is the whole of the evidence adduced in ſupport of theſe claims. What would a judge, what would a jury ſay to it? To bonds depoſited one knows not where; to balances of account current, entered in books which are not to be found; to aſſignments which do not appear; which are only certified by a forcible, and tortious poſſeſſor, by a man, whoſe certificate went to diſcharge his Self, his own eſtate, and to charge the eſtate of another; to whom He was known to have an inveterate hatred; whoſe ruin had been the conſtant object of his life? —Good Heavens! How would that man be received by a Mansfield, who ſhall dare to get up, in the Court of King's Bench, and endeavour to ſupport a claim for a quarter of a million upon ſuch evidence as this!

Becauſe the public claims were contrary to the ſtanding orders of the Company.

But Mr. Benfield's *public* claims on the *government* were inadmiſſible on another account, even had the conſideration of thoſe claims been ſupported by the ſtrongeſt and moſt unexceptionable evidence. The tranſactions whence they accrue are contrary to the *ſtanding orders* of the Company. So early as the year 1714, the Company expreſſes itſelf in this ſtrong and pointed manner: "We very well like the injunctions to *all* our people, that *none* "of them have *any* dealings with the country *government in money* "*matters:* and earneſtly deſire this may be frequently repeated to "all places, as *our ſtanding irreverſible order*, *never to be broken*, *on* "*any occaſion* (*b*)." For this order, indeed, ſome of the Council

(*a*) See Dobbeer's Memorandum. Appendix.

(*b*) Letter from the Court of Directors, dated the 27th of October, 1714. See Papers, vol. i. fol. 181.

expreſs

expreſs the moſt ſovereign contempt (*c*): "Times and circum-"ſtances," they tell us, "are totally changed:" and "the order "is as null and void, as if it never had been made (*d*)." Aſk them why? Who repealed it? Can any leſs power repeal, than that which alone can make, a ſtanding order?—They cannot ſay it was repealed, actually repealed, but it has been, ſome way or another, virtually repealed. Aſk them How? Even there they are puzzled. At laſt they recollect: "that the Company had aſſiſted the credi-"tors of the Nabob:" What follows? Each individual ſervant of the Company having preciſely the ſame meaſure of power as the whole Company united, it follows—can any thing be clearer?—that "the Company has given a *ſanction* to the loans of its ſer-"vants." They recollect too, that "Mr. Benfield has paid the "Dutch a ſum of money on account of the Nabob;" "that this "tranſaction was public:" and "the Company had not expreſt "diſpleaſure at it (*e*)." What then? How does that apply to the preſent caſe? Was the preſent a public tranſaction? The parallel fails. Was it known to the Board at the time? Here too the parallel fails. But, ſuppoſe Mr. Benfield's firſt tranſaction to have been exactly ſimilar to this, what then? At his own peril He had once done wrong, and had eſcaped: is He therefore always to do wrong, and always to eſcape? But ſo far was this order from being obſolete, repealed, null, or void, that, ſo late as the 6th of November in the year 1769, it was *republiſhed*: by the then Preſident and Council (*f*), not indeed by proclamation—that is a ſtyle reſerved for the new Government of Madraſs without a Governor

(*c*) Fletcher, Jourdan, Palmer, and Mackay.

(*d*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 191, 195.

(*e*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 192. Theſe are rather poor reaſons: better had it been in the worthy gentlemen to ſtick to their firſt *poetical* reaſon.

"Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis."

(*f*) Conſiſting among others of Mr. *Stratton*, Mr. *Haſtings*, Mr. *Brooke*, and Mr. *Mackay*. Yet Mr. Mackay does not now bluſh to ſay—that, circumſtances being changed, this order is null and void.

—but by a ſolemn *advertiſement* (*g*). In this advertiſement the order of 1714 is ſet forth; notice is taken of a ſubſequent order, of 17th May 1766; in which, it is ſtated that the rate of intereſt was fixed, but no expreſs repetition made of this order of 1714: it is then obſerved that, from this circumſtance, ſome had *doubted*, whether a *revocation* of the former order were not *implied*, and a *permiſſion* tacitly given to make loans, and have other money tranſactions with the country governments.—At that period, we may obſerve, the ſervants of the Company did not take upon them to pronounce the unrepealed orders of the Company to be null and void; all that even the private, the ſubordinate, ſervants of the Company ventured, was to heſitate, to admit a *doubt* about the validity of orders, which did not ſuit their particular times, and their particular circumſtances—To remove *theſe doubts*, the *public* ſervants of the Company, "the Preſident and Council, declared, "that they conſidered the ſaid ſtanding order of the year 1714, *as* "*unrevoked, and being in full force and vigour*; and, in conſe-"quence thereof, did expreſsly forbid all ſervants of the Company "either civil or military, and all other Europeans reſiding under "their juriſdiction, to hold any manner of correſpondence, to "make loans, or to have any money tranſactions, of what kind "ſoever the ſame might be, with any of the Princes or States in "the Eaſt Indies, or with any of their Miniſters or Agents, without "the eſpecial licence and permiſſion of the Preſident and Council "for the time being." This advertiſement was affixed in the moſt public places; copies of it were ſent to the Company's ſervants, and to the inhabitants; it was given out in general orders; it was ſent to the different ſubordinancies, and out-garriſons; and it was declared, that a deviation from it ſhould be deemed, conſtrued, and treated as a *breach of orders* (*h*). Nor was this the opinion of the ſervants of the Company alone. Repeatedly have the proviſions of this advertiſement been confirmed by orders from the Court of Di-

(*g*) See this advertiſement at length. Papers, vol. i. fol. 218, 219.
(*h*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 217.

rectors

rectors—" We do hereby direct" (ſay They) (*i*) " that no officer " or *other perſon*, in our ſervice, do preſume *to lend, or, by any* " *means, to advance money to any of the Nabob's people in the country*; " for We have reaſon to believe great evils have ariſen from ſuch " practice. The officer can, on the ſpot, in the time of harveſt, " ſecure his own property before the Amuldar can poſſibly take " care of the revenue; and the high intereſt paid by the landholder " is a great temptation to the commanding officer to engage Him " to lend money, on the produce of ſuch lands as lie within the " reach of his guns or limits of his command; this being, We be- " lieve, the principal ſource of diſputes between Us and the Nabob " on this ſubject, *We are determined effectually to cruſh the evil*; and " do therefore *direct*, that You *carry* theſe *our orders into effectual* " *execution, and diſmiſs every perſon from our ſervice, who may pre-* " *ſume to act contrary to our pleaſure hereby ſignified unto You* (*k*)."

So far have been the Servants of the Company, in general, from conſidering this order as null and void, that the Preſident and Council of Bengal refuſed, and, by the Company, were ſupported in refuſing, their aſſiſtance to Mr. Bolts, for the recovery of the outſtanding debts, due to him on account of the ſalt contracts; becauſe that contract was a violation of this very order; " *be-* " *cauſe* it was a direct and manifeſt breach of the Company's " expreſs orders *publicly iſſued by advertiſement* (*l*)." Was it then wrong at Bengal, and right at Madraſs, that the Board ſhould aſſiſt in collecting *unlawful* concerns? ſhould enforce the recovery of *balances*, incurred by an *illicit* trade, publickly *prohibited* by the Company? Are the Servants of the Company who reſide at Bengal, to be bounden, and thoſe who reſide at Madraſs not to be bounden, by the orders of the Company? Shall a breach of thoſe orders ſubject the one to be ſeized and ſent to England;

(*i*) In a Letter of the 10th of April 1771.
(*k*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 220.
(*l*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 221.

and entitle the other to the protection of government abroad?—Nor could Mr. Benfield plead ignorance of theſe orders: He knew Them; He had recognized Them; He had cited Them on a memorable occaſion; He had ſheltered his Self under Them from the ſhame, with which, otherwiſe, He muſt have been overwhelmed, by ſuffering a bill to be proteſted, drawn on Him by his ſervant, for value received by that ſervant on his account. "It "was becauſe He was a ſervant, *obedient to the orders of the Honour-* "*able Company*, that He *rejected* altogether" the propoſal made to Him through his agent, accepted for Him by his agent (*m*). And ſhall We now be told that this man ſhould be ſupported in his claims, becauſe the order is obſolete, null, and void as though it never had been? Shall He be *praiſed* by the Company (*n*) for obeying that order in 1773, and rewarded for diſobeying it in 1775?

Becauſe it was contrary to the orders of the Company reſpecting the reſtoration of the Rajah.

Nor were the ſtanding orders of the Company, alone, to be violated, but the Board could not interfere, in ſupport of Mr. Benfield's *public* claims on government, without as direct a violation of the particular orders of the Company reſpecting the reſtoration of the Rajah. So, at leaſt, it muſt appear to the man, who conſults only the plain and literal ſenſe of thoſe orders. Difficult indeed it is to ſome men to catch the plain and literal ſenſe of any order. There are who, like men that look aſquint, ſee all objects but that, to which They ſeem to direct the eye. How far this may be the caſe with the ſelf-created Council at Madraſs, or with the Governor-general of Bengal, I muſt leave the reader to judge. In recapitulating the orders of the Company relating to the reſtoration of the Rajah, I was going to ſay, becauſe I thought nothing could be more plainly expreſt, that the Company had commanded the *immediate reſtoration* of the Rajah. But I was ſtopt by the ingenious ſcepti-

(*m*) See Introduction. Papers vol. i. fol. 215. And alſo a Letter from the Rajah to the Company, dated 21ſt of October, 1776. India Houſe.

(*n*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 9.

ciſm

ciſm of Mr. Haſtings. He raiſes a doubt, whether *depriving* the Nabob of the country of Tanjore—for in that light He chuſes to place the reſtoration of the Rajah to his hereditary rights (*o*)—were indeed the act of the Company. He allows it to have been, "in effect, an act of the Company"—meaning I ſuppoſe an act done in conſequence of the orders of the Company.—and yet, conſidering it as *the principal matter of complaint*, He is again in doubt, whether it were not, and ſeems inclined to wiſh, at leaſt, that it might be "*imputable* (*p*) *to Lord Pigot*." He ſeems moreover to "regret, that it was not ſubject to the *reviſal* of that (the Bengal) government." But of thus much He is certain, that in their orders, "the Company do not even direct, in *expreſs terms*, "that the Nabob ſhall be diſpoſſeſſed; nor that the Rajah *ſhall* be "reſtored:" He allows, indeed, that "the Company *reſolved to* "*contribute* towards the reſtoration of the King of Tanjore; and "that They had *determined* to replace Him on the throne of his "anceſtors."—I will truſt to the plain and literal underſtanding of any one man, in this kingdom, to give Us the "plain and literal "ſenſe" of theſe words: nay, I will truſt it to any man in Bengal Bahar or Oriſſa, ſave only Mr. Haſtings. For, I truſt, no other man there, or here, or any where, could entertain a moment's doubt, whether the Company meant that an event *ſhould* happen, to which They were *reſolved* to *contribute*, and which They were *determined* to effectuate. If it appear that they gave—and Mr. Haſtings allows that They did give—"inſtructions, which could not be carried *into effect*, *without the Rajah's previous reſtoration*; *nor delayed without much confuſion and danger*"—I truſt that no man

(*o*) See his Minute; Papers, vol. ii. folio 128.—The ſentence runs thus—"In enumerating the ſpecific articles of complaint, exhibited by the Nabob "againſt Lord Pigot, I have paſſed over the *principal matter* of *complaint*, and that "from which all the reſt have *originated*, namely *his deprivation of the country of* "*Tanjore*." Great politicians are above the little reſtraints of grammar: ſo we muſt give Him credit for his meaning.

(*p*) Theologians do, I believe, talk of "imputed righteouſneſs;" but in common parlance we ſeldom *impute* good actions to a man.

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in this kingdom, no other man in Bengal Bahar or Oriſſa, no other man in any other place, will for a moment ſuſpect it to have been the intention of the Company that the execution of this fixed deſign ſhould be reſerved to an *indefinite time* (*q*). Becauſe, I hope, no other man could think it poſſible, that the Company ſhould ſeriouſly intend to leave the whole Coaſt of Coromandel in a ſtate of much confuſion and danger for an indefinite term. Not only, therefore, from the orders of the Company, but from theſe arguments of Mr. Haſtings, does it appear clearly to have been the intention of the Company, if any thing can be clear, that the claims of the Nabob on the Tanjore country ſhould *terminate*, and the rights of the Rajah *commence*, *at the moment of the publication of the orders of the Company at the Council Board in Fort St. George* (*r*). Why the Court of Directors ſhould be ſuppoſed to be ſo ignorant, as Mr. Mackay politely ſuppoſes Them (*s*), I know not. For my own part, I ſuppoſe Them to have been perfectly "acquainted with the time of *cultivation*, and with the time of *har-*"*veſt* at Tanjore." It was, I ſuppoſe, becauſe theſe circumſtances were well known to Them; becauſe They knew that the produce of the crop did not form the fund from which the expences of government up to the time of the *then* harveſt, but that fund from

(*q*) Whenever I give the opinion either of Mr. Haſtings, or of Mr. Benfield, I give their opinions in their *own words*, and refer moſt cautiouſly to my authority. It is neceſſary to remind the reader of this; it might otherwiſe appear incredible, that two men ſhould be found who could hold ſuch language. This whole minute of Mr. Haſtings deſerves the reader's particular attention. It begins at folio 277, and ends at folio 290, of the ſecond volume of the Papers. Whilſt I was peruſing it, more than once it occurred to me, that I muſt be reading the depoſition of a witneſs before a commiſſary of the inquiſition; and of a deponent too, in whoſe ears the charge of the good commiſſary ſtrongly vibrated, "vous "ne devez dire que des choſes qui ſoient contre Lui, et pas un mot en ſa fa-"veur"—To ſpeak ſeriouſly—In all my reading, I ſcarcely remember to have met with any writing to which, had I been a man in a public ſtation, I ſhould ſo unwillingly have ſet my name.

(*r*) That was the 11th of December, 1775.

(*s*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 191.

which

which the expences of government up to the time of the harveſt of the *ſucceeding* year, were to be defrayed; that They directed the *immediate* reſtoration of the Rajah. Knowing this, they knew, that, if the crop of the then preſent year were given to the Nabob, the Rajah muſt "be without treaſure and his country without "grain," and muſt therefore "become a heavy incumbrance "on the Company; and might give an opening for new ma-"chinations (*t*)" — or, as Mr. Haſtings would expreſs it, give riſe to much confuſion and danger." And yet the Company did not then know that, at the news of the approach of Lord Pigot, the Nabob had ſtript the country of Tanjore of every thing He could carry away; of horſes, elephants, cattle: that He had left the Rajah without a palanquin, without a horſe, without a carpet, without any of the neceſſaries of life (*u*). But theſe circumſtances, though unknown to the Company were well known to the Board. And to what could the Board ſuppoſe the Company meant to reſtore the Rajah? To a palace with bare walls, which He could not furniſh? To a country without grain, which he could not cultivate? To ſubjects without food, for whom he could not find ſubſiſtence? On theſe terms a priſon were better than a throne. Nor are theſe arguments my own. They are borrowed from the Governor and Council of Fort St. George. Till the ſpirit of party blinded the eyes of the Council, They were unanimous in giving this interpretation of the orders of the Company; unanimous in their opinion, that the preſent crop was the property of the Rajah; unanimous in aſſigning the preſent ſtate of the crop as the reaſon for Lord Pigot's proceeding to Tanjore to effect the immediate reſtoration of the Rajah. Nay they went further: they *bought* the crop of the Rajah. Upon the whole then, from the faireſt and moſt impartial ex-

(*t*) See Mr. Dalrymple's Minute. This Minute is a very maſterly performance; and well deſerves the reader's attention. It begins at folio 204, and endsat folio 233 of the firſt volume of the Papers.

(*u*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 132, 140.

amination,

amination, it appears, that Mr. Benfield's claims were inadmiſſible, upon each of theſe three grounds; becauſe They were ſupported by no proofs; becauſe the tranſactions from which they accrued, were contrary to the ſtanding orders of the Company; and becauſe they were contrary to the particular orders of the Company reſpecting the reſtoration of the Rajah.

Arguments advanced in ſupport of theſe claims.

It would be uncandid, however, not to take notice of the arguments adduced in ſupport of Mr. Benfield's claims. They may, I think, be reduced to three—that private property ſhould be reſpected in public revolutions—that the Nabob, having expended ſo much upon the country of Tanjore, had a right to make theſe aſſignments—that, having ſowed the ground, He had a right to the crop.

Reſpect due to private property.

That private property ſhould be reſpected as much as poſſible in public revolutions, is allowed. But before this conceſſion can be of any avail to the claims of Mr. Benfield, He ſhould have *proved his property*. Here He failed; He *proved* nothing; He did not prove a ſingle debt, fairly and bonâ fide, due to him. He ſhould have proved theſe debts to have ariſen from *legal* tranſactions. Here too he failed: by his own ſhewing, nine tenths of the debts accrued from *unlawful* concerns; from an *illicit* trade. Laſtly, He ſhould have proved that, by rejecting the validity of theſe aſſignments, the Council *deprived* Him of his property. But here again he fails. For, ſuppoſing Him to have proved—what he did not prove—that the debts, He claimed, were fairly and bonâ fide due to him; ſuppoſing him to have proved—which neither did he prove—that theſe debts accrued from a fair and licit trade; ſtill, by rejecting the validity of the aſſignments, the Council did *not deſtroy his property*. They only told him, that He had miſtaken that for *his* property, which was not his property. The aſſignments were collateral ſecurities, given after the debts accrued. Of theſe ſecurities the *Council* did not deprive him; they declared them only

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to be naught, to be no ſecurities: and they left him his original ſecurity, his original bonds in their full force. And, by his own ſhewing, the advances were made upon thoſe bonds, and not upon the aſſignments (*x*). His debtor, to ſtrengthen his ſecurity, had given a fraudulent aſſignment. If He were privy to the fraud, He deſerved no relief (*y*): if He were not privy to it, his remedy lay againſt his debtor, not againſt the man upon whoſe eſtate theſe fraudulent aſſignments were made. His application to the Board ſhould, therefore, have been to compel the Nabob either to pay the money, or to give him a good collateral ſecurity, equal in value to that which had been fraudulently given.

Expences of the Nabob in the Tanjore country.

The ſecond reaſon urged by thoſe who contend for the validity of theſe aſſignments, is, that the Nabob, having expended ſo much upon the Tanjore country, had a right to make theſe aſſignments. And here I will not repeat the deciſion of the Company on this point, which, to the Board at leaſt, was concluſive: I will not recapitulate all that the Nabob got by the plunder of Tanjore, when it was taken; nor the four millions of pagodas which He took whilſt He was in receipt of the revenues of the country; nor what He got by the ſecond plunder of the country, at the news of Lord Pigot's arrival. The queſtion may be put upon a very ſhort iſſue. The Company ſuppoſed the Nabob to be a very *a conſiderable gainer* by his tranſactions in Tanjore. Impreſt with this idea, they often and earneſtly importuned Him for an account of his receipts and diſburſements. Was He ſo conſiderable a gainer? It might be politic to with-hold the accounts. Was He not? To with-hold them was madneſs or folly, in the extreme. At all events, ſo long as He with-held them, the Board could not ſuppoſe that He had any unſatisfied claim upon Tanjore.

(*x*) This is true of *all* his demands, except only the old grain, and perhaps the 60,000 chuckrams.

(*y*) Were a court of juſtice to take into conſideration the time when, and the circumſtances under which, theſe aſſignments were made, would it, or would it not, declare them to be fraudulent, and him to be privy to the fraud?

That the Nabob ſowed the ground.

The laſt reaſon aſſigned is, that the Nabob, having ſowed the ground, had a right to the crop. This argument, uſed upon *this occaſion*, is ſuch an inſult on the common feelings of mankind, that I dare not truſt myſelf to anſwer it. I feel myſelf too warm. Hear what the Rajah ſays of it, in his letter to the ſelf-created Preſident of Fort St. George—"In the copy, You ſent me, of Lord Pigot's letter, "is the following paſſage"—"That a paragraph was ſent me of "the orders of Parliament with regard to Mr. Benfield's claim, "which would direct me how to act"—"You have *not however* "*ſent me this paragraph.* I am unacquainted *who* the Parliament are, "what is their *name*; what is the nature of their inſtitution (z), "or the rules They have laid down for me. You will much oblige "me by making me acquainted with theſe circumſtances.—The "Nabob took my kingdom by force, carried away my jewels, my "furniture, my horſes, my elephants, and other cattle; plundered "my houſes, my treaſury, and my armoury, and enjoyed the re-"venues of my country for two years and a half, collected a great "ſum of money in it, carried away all the *accompts and records* be-"longing to the kingdom. After having ſuffered all theſe loſſes "by the Nabob, is it juſt that I ſhould pay Him the produce of "the country, becauſe He ſowed the ground? Did there ever any "inſtance happen of ſuch a determination having been made? "The year the Nabob took my country by force *I ſowed the ground*; "*did He, or did He not then enjoy the produce?* He ſeized my "country by violence; *my own* is again reſtored to me.—*I have* "*taken no man's poſſeſſions*; nor has the Nabob beſtowed any favour "on me. The Nabob him Self collected all the revenues for *laſt* "*year.* When Lord Pigot arrived from Europe at Madraſs, the "Nabob, *hearing that the Company had ſent orders for reſtoring my* "*kingdom to Me, gave people tankas upon it, for more than double* "*the amount of their debts.* He advanced no money to the farmers, "as was cuſtomary. He collected all the money that was in the

(z) The Candid reader will excuſe this ignorance of the Rajah. He writes his *own* letters without the aid of a *Macpherſon* or a *Mac-Cleane*.

"country;

" country; *and left it in a ſtate of deſolation.* That I might get no
" inſight into the Amuldar's accounts, *he carried every page of them*
" *out of the country*; and notwithſtanding this, and my entire
" ignorance of them, I am deſired to make them out! The little
" money that remained in the country, at the time the Company
" was ſo good as to reſtore it to Me, did not prove ſufficient for
" my expences. When Lord Pigot came here, I *ſtipulated*, in the
" treaty addreſſed to Him, that whatever grain was in the country,
" over and above what was wanted for the conſumption of the
" inhabitants, ſhould be delivered to the Company, at a reaſonable
" price. This grain *has accordingly been delivered. If I had no*
" *right to the produce of my country for the laſt year, would the Com-*
" *pany purchaſe it from me?* Having ſtrictly enquired into every
" thing, it appears to Me, that the Nabob has no right to the
" produce of my kingdom, after it was delivered over to me.
" Your juſtice can penetrate into every thing. When You decide,
" You ſhould, from the regard You bear both parties, inform
" your Self particularly; hear what each has to ſay; and deter-
" mine without partiality. But if, without taking this method,
" without hearing *Me*, You liſten to my *adverſary only*, I muſt,
" though with reluctance, deny my aſſent to your meaſures.
" *Your conduct in this reſpect does not appear equitable.* If, after know-
" ing every circumſtance relating to my ſituation, You decide in
" this manner, it will be very difficult for Me to govern my king-
" dom. The Company at home have diſtinguiſhed Me with their
" favour, and, with a proper regard to the faith of the treaty, and
" the friendſhip by that means eſtabliſhed, have given orders to
" You, Gentlemen, for reinſtating me in my kingdom; if They,
" at the ſame time, ordered that whoever ſows a country ſhall
" receive the produce of it; if they have given directions, that
" when the country was taken from the Nabob, and delivered to
" Me, the produce of it, for the year, ſhould be given to Me,
" or to the Nabob; if they formed reſolutions with regard to
" every thing that has paſſed, and every thing *that is to come*; be ſo

" obliging as to make Me acquainted with theſe inſtructions, and I " will ſtudy how I can comply with them."

And ſo much for the *validity* of the claims of Mr. Paul Benfield; of the debts *proved* to be due to Him:—ſo much for his certificate of the Nabob for his bonds; and his books, depoſited in unknown Cutcheries, in the hands of black men to the ſouthward without a name.

Farther intrigues of the Nabob.

Thus far the Nabob and his friends were apparently foiled. The Rajah was reſtored. For the *third time* the Board determined, that the crop of the preſent year was the property of the Rajah (*a*). The truth is, that, hitherto, the friends of the Nabob ſeem to have adopted the character of the Nabob, the "leaſt erected ſpirit," perhaps, that ever attempted a deſperate deed; in forming plans of oppreſſion induſtrious, but in the execution of them timorous, and ſlothful. In part, however, He had ſucceeded. For He had ſown the ſeeds of diſcord, which wanted but a little genial warmth to ſhoot forth into a plentiful harveſt. It appears, on many occaſions, that the Nabob was acquainted with every thing which paſt at the Board. It was for the purpoſe of being well, and ſpeedily, acquainted with what paſt at the Board, that He had fixed his reſidence at Madraſs. He knew therefore the reſentment which many felt, becauſe the buſineſs of the reſtoration had been entruſted to Lord Pigot alone: He knew, that the diſcuſſion and rejection, of Benfield's claims had increaſed that reſentment: He knew that, though Benfield was the only perſon who had made a public application to the Board yet, he was not the *only* perſon intereſted in the claims: He knew, that theſe claims, conſiderable as They were, made but a ſmall part of the aſſignments which He had given on the Tanjore country. But though reſentment was excited, he ſaw

(*a*) Firſt, by the reaſon aſſigned for Lord Pigot's proceeding to Tanjore: ſecondly, by the purchaſe of the crop from the Rajah: and now by the rejection of the aſſignments of the Nabob, as *inadmiſſible*.

that

that reſentment ſuppreſſed by timidity: it rankled in the breaſt, it broke out into murmurs, but it wanted ſome foreign impulſe to bring it forth into action. The friends of the Nabob pondered, with thoughts too deep, the danger of an open reſiſtance; each ſeemed to look in the countenance of another; but, inſtead of encouragement, read diſmay. The Nabob, therefore, determined to give Them that courage, which They could not generate among their Selves. For this purpoſe he applied to the Commodore, and to the Governor-general and Council of Bengal. Them He thought it would be eaſy to miſlead: the one could not be maſter of the ſubject; the others were not on the ſpot. And, if He could miſlead, He might intereſt Them in his behalf; and, if He could intereſt Them in his behalf, his friends, confident of *their* ſupport, would be emboldened; and dare perhaps to do, what now They trembled but to wiſh.

1776. June 3. Letter from the Nabob to Sir Edward Hughes, containing charges againſt Lord Pigot.

Accordingly, a few days after the rejection of Benfield's claims, a letter from Sir Edward Hughes was laid before the Board, in which were incloſed two other letters; one that the Nabob had addreſſed to Sir Edward; the other, a copy of one he had written to Lord Pigot. Theſe letters were filled with complaints of ſo *alarming a tendency*, that Sir Edward conceived his Self bounden, by duty to the King as well as by zeal for the Company, to ſubmit them to the peruſal of the Board (*b*). In his Letter to the Commodore, beſides the uſual parade of his *rights*, and his *honour*, and his *alliance* with the crown; beſides general complaints of the meaſures of Lord Pigot at Tanjore, of the low and diſgraceful ſtate to which his own authority was reduced—by his having been compelled to do one act of juſtice—the Nabob brings againſt his Lordſhip two ſpecific charges. One, that Lord Pigot, in the court, in the preſence of the brother and two ſons of

(*b*) See theſe letters, in Papers, vol. i. folio 181—189. There are two tranſlations of the Letter to Lord Pigot, which, though perhaps not very materially, do vary from each other.

the

the Nabob, "declared in the moſt determined and threatening "tone of voice, that he would place an European guard upon his "(the Nabob's) houſe to keep him a priſoner *in his* (Lord Pigot's) "*own power.*" The other, that Lord Pigot had, on another occaſion, ordered people to enter his (the Nabob's) garden, in the middle of the night, on *pretended* information that the Nabob had ordered people to be ill treated there. The ſecond of theſe complaints ſhall be conſidered in the next ſection; if proved, it was an illegal exertion of power. The ſubject of the other we ſhall conſider now; becauſe, in his ſtate of this tranſaction, his Lordſhip repreſents it as an act done, *in conformity to the letter and the ſpirit of the orders of the Company.*

The Nabob charges Lord Pigot with threatening to make Him a priſoner.

There is a circumſtance, in the Nabob's account of this tranſaction, which alone would render it incredible. The Nabob tells us, that Lord Pigot came to Him, and ſpoke in *a moſt determined tone of voice.* This is the tone of a man, who ſpeaks deliberately; who is recollected. At the ſame time He imputes to his Lordſhip expreſſions, which no man, who knows Him, can believe Him to have uſed; expreſſions, which men of the moſt violent temper, men accuſtomed to the loweſt company, ſeldom uſe, unleſs under the agitation of the moſt extravagant paſſion (*c*).

Lord Pigot's ſtate of this tranſaction.

But Lord Pigot declares "that the Nabob had totally *miſunder-*"*ſtood* him:" "that He never had a thought of placing a guard "over the Nabob." Let us attend then to his Lordſhip's ſtate of the fact. Before his departure for Tanjore, Lord Pigot tells us that He

(*c*) The man has the folly to charge Lord Pigot with calling Members of the Council "*raſcals*;" with threatening "*to diſmiſs* Them from the *ſervice*:" nay with calling all the Engliſh—his own friends and family, among others, I ſuppoſe,—"*all* the *white-faced fellows*, raſcals:" with adviſing the heroic ſons of the Nabob "to kick out all ſuch raſcals."—And into all theſe acts of intemperance He ſuppoſes Lord Pigot to have been betrayed by a letter written and *received* the preceding day. To ſtate theſe charges is not barely to refute them; it is to deſtroy the veracity of the whole account.

had

had received certain information, from one of the Nabob's family, that the Nabob had been told, by one *high in office*, of *ſuperior intereſt and friends*, by the Commander in Chief; by the man who ſat at the left hand of the Preſident at the Council Board, that Lord Pigot dared not carry the orders of the Company into execution, without the conſent of the Nabob. His Lordſhip had been farther informed that, by the ſame man, the ſecret inſtructions of the Company had been divulged to the Nabob: that the ſame man had, at that early period, foretold to the Nabob, that there would ſoon be a *diviſion in the Council* (*d*). After his return, Lord Pigot had ſuch daily proofs of the ill effects ariſing from the frequent intercourſe between the Europeans and the court of the Nabob, that He not only determined, if poſſible, to put a ſtop to that intercourſe, but told the Nabob that He had ſo determined. "He feared, "and expreſt thoſe fears to the Nabob, that the encouragement "his Highneſs gave to European viſitors, and the impediment "to public buſineſs ariſing from the intrigues carried on by "Them at the Durbar, would lay Him under a neceſſity to place "a guard to bring ſuch perſons to Him, that He might be ac-"quainted with the nature of their buſineſs (*e*)."

This explanation of his Lordſhip's conduct, on this occaſion, is —if We may believe the Governor-general—"*an acknowledgment of the fact* (*f*)." A diſcovery the moſt wonderful I ever remember to have met in the works of any commentator. An acknowlegment of the fact! of what fact? Of the fact with which the Nabob charges Lord Pigot? He charges Lord Pigot with having declared, in a threatening and determined tone of voice, that he would place an European guard upon the Nabob's houſe, for the purpoſe of keeping *Him, the Nabob, a priſoner, in his, Lord Pigot's, own power.* And how does the explanation acknowlege the fact? By declaring,

Uncandid remarks of Mr. Haſtings on this explanation of his Lordſhip.

(*d*) See Papers, vol. ii. folio 63.
(*e*) See Papers, vol. i, folio 187.
(*f*) See Papers, vol. ii. folio 216.

that

that "the Nabob totally *misunderstood* Him;" that "He *never had* "*a thought of placing any guard over the Nabob.*" If this be to acknowlege the fact; I must go to Bengal, ere I shall know how to contradict, or to deny, a fact. The fact charged, was a *threat* to place a guard at a *certain* place—upon the Nabob's house—for a *certain purpose*—to keep the Nabob a prisoner—the explanation acknowleges an *intimation* of a design to place a guard at another place—about the grounds of the Company—for another purpose—not to keep the Nabob a prisoner, but to keep English subjects within the bounds prescribed by the laws of the English Government.

His Lordship justified by the orders of the Company.

To have placed a guard over the house of the Nabob, for the purpose of keeping the Nabob a prisoner, would, no doubt, have been "an insult," "a violence," or any thing else Mr. Hastings pleases to call it. It was a measure Lord Pigot had already rejected, when proposed by Mr. Mackay. But to place a guard, for the purpose of intercepting European visitors, might be necessary to enforce the *standing orders of the Company*. In the advertisement we have already had occasion to quote, We may remember, that "*to hold any manner of correspondence* with any of the *Princes*, "*Rulers* or *Governors* of any of the states in the East Indies, "their ministers or agents, without the especial licence and "permission of the President and Council for the time being," was expressly forbidden to *all* the Servants of the Company, civil and military. From this prohibition none were excepted, save only Servants charged with public affairs, and military officers having command. And to Them it was permitted to correspond *only* on such affairs, as related to their particular mission or command: and to them it was moreover enjoined to transmit such correspondence to the President, or to the Chief and Council (*g*). In a later order the Directors declare, that "it is, by no means, their intention, "that *any person whatever, their President* excepted, should be at

(*g*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 219.

"liberty

"liberty to correſpond with the Nabob, as they had heretofore "*preſumed to do.*" And this order was given on a remarkable occaſion: it, ſpecially, and by name included a claſs of people to whom before all others, if to any, the liberty of correſponding with the Nabob might have been allowed; it included the truſtees of the private creditors of the Nabob. Yet not to them was it permitted to correſpond with the Nabob, even on the ſubject of their truſt, otherwiſe than through the channel of the Governor and Council (*g*). But the reſidence of the Nabob at Madraſs had opened a wide door to the intercourſe between Him and the Britiſh ſubjects: ſo wide that Lord Pigot could ſee no other way of ſtopping ſo dangerous an intercourſe, than that of placing a guard about the grounds of the Company. For there—about the grounds of the Company, and not upon the houſe of the Nabob—it was clearly the intention of Lord Pigot to place the guard. His Lordſhip, at leaſt, apprehended that He might, in the event, be driven to this expedient. And theſe apprehenſions He expreſt to the Nabob. Did He wrong? Tell us then, what was He to do? Was He to give up the ſtanding orders of the Company, or was He to ſupport them in the only way by which they could be ſupported? I am yet to learn, that a Governor is to ſhrink from his duty, becauſe it is poſſible, that, in the diſcharge of it, He may give "a deep "wound to the perſonal feelings of a Nabob:" "may even provoke "hoſtilities." He need not ſhrink from his duty though ſome wiſe man of the Eaſt ſhould dream of, I know not how many, impoſſible conſequences; of alliances which the hoſtile Nabob might form with Hyder Ally, with the Morattoes, and with the French; ſhould ſee, in ſome myſtic viſion, ſerpents coupled with birds, and tygers with lambs (*h*).

(*g*) See Ibid.

(*h*) Not more unnatural than an alliance between Hyder Ally and the Nabob; or between the Nabob and the Morattoes. As to his forming an alliance with the French, He already declares, that He is as much the Ally of the French as of the Engliſh.

Charges Lord Pigot with ſeizing territorities not belonging to Tanjore.

In the letter, addreſſed to Lord Pigot, of which a copy was tranſmitted to Sir Edward Hughes, the Nabob brings another ſpecific charge againſt Lord Pigot. It is, that by his orders, the Company's Seapoys, together with the people of the Rajah, had taken poſſeſſion of certain diſtricts in the countries of Ramnaud, or Ramnadaporam, and Shevagungo or Shewgunga: countries better known by the names of *Marawa*, and *Neelcota*. The Nabob pretends, that theſe diſtricts did not belong to the Rajah; but were parts of his domains: that He had ſent no orders to his managers there to give them up; and that the conſequences of attempting to ſeize them, without ſuch orders, might have been fatal. He adds, that Lord Pigot ought, at leaſt, to have conſulted with Him, and to have examined records, and not to have conſidered the word of the Rajah as a ſufficient authority for taking his, the Nabob's, country: And He finiſhes by expreſſing his confidence, that the Company, ſo far from approving the ſeizure of *his* country, will order Tanjore to be reſtored to Him (*i*).

But theſe diſtricts belonged to Tanjore at the concluſion of the Treaty of 1762.

I know of no conſultations, no records, which could have juſtified Lord Pigot in ſeizing any part of the country belonging to the Nabob. Nor did He ſeize any part of it. The diſtricts in queſtion belonged to the Rajah. For the proof of this Lord Pigot had only to turn back to records in his own poſſeſſion; to his own correſpondence, under his former adminiſtration, with the preſent Nabob, and with the father of the preſent Rajah. There, He might learn, from the Nabob's own letters, addreſſed to Him and to Colonel Heron ſo late as the year 1755, that the Marrawar and Nalcooty men did not depend on the Nabob; that "He *had* "*never reaped any advantage* from them." There He might learn, that this very Nabob had then preſt Lord Pigot to withdraw his protection from the Marawar; to compel Him to reſtore the diſtricts in queſtion, which the Nabob then acknowledged to have

(*i*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 185—189. Vol. ii. folio 287—289.

been

been taken from the King of Tanjore (*l*). Lord Pigot knew, moreover, that, when He made the treaty of 1762, theſe diſtricts were in the poſſeſſion of the Rajah: He knew that the Rajah had—not as Mr. Haſtings expreſſes it, "newly acquired them by "violence (*m*)" but—*newly recovered* them by an expedition which the Nabob's Self had encouraged. Now the orders of the Company were to reſtore the Rajah to the countries which He poſſeſſed, at the time that treaty was guarantied by the Engliſh. If therefore, Lord Pigot directed the poſſeſſion of theſe diſtricts to be given to the Rajah, he acted in ſtrict conformity to theſe orders.

And to all that He poſſeſſed then it was the Company's intentions to reſtore Him now.

So at leaſt would it appear to a man of common underſtanding; ſo it did appear to Lord Pigot; ſo to *all* the members of his Council. But the ſcepticiſm of Mr. Haſtings is not ſo eaſily to be ſatisfied. He, it ſeems, "has read the General "Letter of the 12th of April with *attention*; and He cannot find "any paſſage in it, which directs, that the Rajah ſhall be put in "poſſeſſion of ſuch places as he held when the treaty of 1762 was "concluded, unleſs the 20th paragraph of the General Letter *may* "*admit of ſuch a concluſion* (*n*)." This cautious ſtateſman, at one moment, doubts whether the Rajah was to be reſtored to his *throne*; at another, whether, if reſtored to his throne, He ſhould be reſtored to his *country*. So far He is conſiſtent. The Company too are conſiſtent: They meant to reſtore Him to both. Mr. Haſtings cannot, yet, without priding my Self much on my diſcernment, I think I can, eſpy other paragraphs in that letter, which *may admit of this concluſion*. What concluſion *may* be drawn from the fourth paragraph? There a *ſolemn promiſe to guaranty the treaty of* 1762 *is recognized*. And does not that treaty ſtipulate, that, in conſideration of a certain ſum, the Nabob releaſes *all demands* whatever on the poſſeſſions of the Rajah? What from the fifth paragraph?

(*l*) See Letters from the Nabob to Lord Pigot and Colonel Heron in 1755. India Houſe.

(*m*) Papers, vol. ii. folio 288.

(*n*) Papers, vol. ii. fol. 288.

There the Company declare their Selves "bounden by every "tie of honour to contribute, *ſo far as in Them lies*, to the *re-* "*ſtoration* of the Rajah." To his reſtoration to what? Can they mean to leſs, than *all* which he poſſeſſed, when that engagement was firſt made? What from the ſeventh paragraph? There it is declared, that "no *diminution* of the Rajah's *authority* over "*his* ſubjects is intended." Whom could the Company mean by *his ſubjects?* Could They mean other or fewer, than thoſe who were his ſubjects at the time the *treaty* was made? At the time the *letter* was written, the unfortunate Rajah had, de facto, no ſubjects; He was not maſter of his own perſon; He was in priſon. The letter ſpeaks not of his ſubjects at *this* period. To what other period could it then refer? To none, unleſs to that period, when the engagements of the Company commenced. And is it then no diminution of his authority over his ſubjects to transfer thoſe ſubjects to the dominion of another? And as to this twentieth paragraph, is it enough to ſay, in the lady-like language adopted in this letter, that it *may* admit of ſuch a concluſion? *Can* it admit of any other? Do not the Company expreſsly charge their ſervants, "to pay no regard to that article of the treaty of 1771, "which reſpects the alienation of part of the Rajah's dominions?" Are not the diſtricts in queſtion expreſsly alienated by the third article of the treaty of 1771 (*o*)? And does not the whole Board join in aſſerting, that theſe diſtricts were part of the Rajah's dominions at the concluſion of the treaty of 1762? Can better evidence be required than the unanimous teſtimony of that Board, before whom all the correſpondence relative to the treaty was open (*p*)?

(*o*) See the Treaty. India Houſe.

(*p*) Mr. Haſtings miſrepreſents another paragraph in this general letter, and draws from it what he calls an—"*infallible conſequence.*"—Men in certain ſtations may have a licence to inſult the underſtandings of mankind: in Me it would ſurely be an *un*licenced inſult to attempt to anſwer ſuch reaſoning as that. Let the reader compare the 30th paragraph in the general letter—Papers, vol. i. folio 2.—with Mr. Haſtings's comment on it. Papers, vol. ii. folio 288.

"But

" But granting, says Mr. Hastings, *that* the Company's orders " have directed, *that* the Rajah should be restored to the possession of " all *that* He had at *that* time; and granting, *that* He had at *that* " (*q*) time the possession of the districts in question; yet surely there " could be no excuse for employing a militaty force to expel the Na- " bob's agents, until application had been first made to Him in form, " and He had refused to restore them." Truly I think not. Why should Lord Pigot act so rashly? Before I answer this question, before I assign reasons for these facts, let Me beg Mr. Hastings to answer Me one previous question. Did Lord Pigot act so rashly? Are the facts, as the great statesman represents them? I fancy not. It will I think appear, that application was made to the Nabob in form. Repeatedly Lord Pigot acquainted the Nabob that, in pursuance of the orders of the Company, the Rajah was to be restored to *all* the dominions, which He possessed at the conclusion of the treaty of 1762. At the requisition of the Nabob a copy of these orders was sent to Him. He well knew that these districts, which in this letter, he calls *his* countries, were part of the possessions of the Rajah at the conclusion of that treaty. They were therefore a part of the Tanjore country.—If therefore it appears, as by the correspondence it does appear, that Lord Pigot often and earnestly requested the Nabob to direct his officers in *all* the Tanjore country, to relinquish their authority, and to account for the sums collected, from the time of the receipt of the Company's letters: How can Mr. Hastings complain that no application was made in form? Were not all these requests so many applications in form? This first fact, then, is not as Mr. Hastings has stated it No military force was sent until previous application had been made to the Nabob in form.

Nor did the Seapoys go with a view to possess these districts till notice had been given to the Nabob.

Nor is the other fact more fairly stated. For though a forcible expulsion of the Agents of the Nabob, be admitted by Mr. Hast-

Nor did they expel the Agents of the Nabob.

(*q*) Should this paragraph grate upon the reader's ear, he will recollect that I cite the very words of Mr. Hastings.

ings,

ings, on the bare word of the Nabob, as an undiſputed fact, yet, there was no ſuch forcible expulſion. The real ſtate of the caſe is this. The Rajah, as ſoon as his reſtoration was notified, requeſted that a body of Seapoys might be ſent to aſſiſt in the collection of the revenues. A battalion was allotted for that ſervice. The diſtricts which the Nabob claims, and which the Governor-general ſeems willing to believe to be his property, belonged in fact, as we have ſeen, to the dominions of the Rajah. His people—*ſome time after Lord Pigot had left Tanjore*—went thither of courſe, with a view to collect the revenues. They were accompanied, likewiſe *of courſe*, by a part of that battalion of Seapoys, which, by the unanimous reſolution of the Board, had been ſent to Tanjore for the expreſs purpoſe of enabling the Rajah to collect his revenues. But the officer who commanded, on the part of the Nabob, refuſed, without orders from the Nabob, to quit his poſt. What followed? Did the Seapoys, did the people of the Rajah, attack the officer of the Nabob? Did they expel him by force? No, they came away: they left him in poſſeſſion. And ſuch was the tenderneſs of Lord Pigot; ſo averſe was he to proceed by violent meaſures, that, notwithſtanding the expreſs orders of the Company; notwithſtanding the *unanimous* deciſion of the Board, by which theſe diſtricts were adjudged to be the property of the Rajah; the Nabob has been permitted ſtill to retain poſſeſſion of them—of theſe very diſtricts, from which the Governor-general ſuppoſes him to have been forcibly expelled. In poſſeſſion at leaſt did He remain, when, by the intrigues of that very Nabob, Lord Pigot was forcibly expelled from the ſeat of government (*r*).

June 3. Benfield's claim reſumed.

No ſooner was an anſwer diſpatched to Sir Edward Hughes, diſclaiming all intention of putting a guard on the Nabob, all inten-

(*r*) See Extract of the Bengal Conſultations, Auguſt 7, 1776, with Remarks, folio 5, 6.

tion

tion of offering any indignity to Him (*s*), than the buſineſs of Benfield was reſumed. A Mr. Brooke, who before had concurred in opinion that his claims were inadmiſſible, entered a minute, too tedious to be recited at length, and almoſt too ludicrous to be abridged. The ſubſtance however is this—That to claim a right, and to requeſt a favour, are, as all the world knows, things entirely different.—That, ſo uncommon is Mr. Benfield's mode of expreſſion, after reading ſo many of his letters, poor Mr. Brooke on the 29th of May totally miſtook Him; imagining He had *claimed* the interference of the Board as a right—That He fell into this miſtake on ſeeing that Mr. Benfield called on the *juſtice* of the Board *to do him right*—That Mr. Brooke was now happily undeceived; for He had diſcovered this to be his friend's way of *requeſting a favour*—that, on the ſuppoſition of his coming with a ſurly *demand*, Mr. Brooke, without enquiring into the juſtice of the claims, had ſhut his ears: but now, perceiving that He came only with a civil requeſt, He was determined to hear all, to believe all, to ſupport all.—Moreover, the minute of Mr. Brooke ſets forth that He had *reviewed* the Company's letter. But, whether from a total defect, or from a ſuperabundance of the critical acumen ſo eſſential to a reviewer, he has either totally miſtaken the ſenſe of that letter, or has diſcovered a double ſenſe in it. For, in that letter, he has diſcovered that the Company approved—though two thirds of their letter are employed in ſhewing how much They diſapproved—of the capture of Tanjore; of the plunder of Tanjore; of the receipt of the revenues of Tanjore for two years *and more* (*t*).

(*s*) With which anſwer the Commodore was ſo well ſatisfied that he thought "*it could not fail to produce the deſired effect of ſatisfying the mind of the Nabob*, on "the ſubject of his application.*" In truth the Nabob had no apprehenſions of violence.

(*t*) Mr. Brooke's Minute is to be found in Papers, vol. i. folio 196, 197. I have had occaſion to obſerve, that threats of *proſecutions at law* had been thrown out againſt the Members of the Board. Under the apprehenſion of a proſecution, I ſuppoſe, or of ſome more dreadful evil, poor Mr. Brooke muſt have penned this Minute.

* Papers, vol. i. folio 209.

Urged

Urged by ſuch cogent arguments, what could the Board do leſs, than reſolve to reconſider, what had already been only *three* times ſolemnly determined. What "Mr. Brooke's intentions could be "in thus forcing the Board to the reconſideration of a ſubject that "had been fully diſcuſſed," we will ſubmit to the candour of the reader (*u*).

June 10. Letter from Bengal in conſequence of complaints of the Nabob.

But, not to attribute greater effect than it produced to this elaborate minute, it muſt be allowed that this, rather uncommon, mode of reconſidering a matter already ſo often determined, might perhaps be ſuggeſted by the expectation of ſupport from the Governor-general and Council of Bengal. For to them had the Nabob complained; not indeed on the ſubject of Mr. Benfield's claims, but on that of the ſeizure—as He calls it—of the Dobbeer at Arialore. The complaint was received, as complaints are in general received by men *pre-diſpoſed* to believe them. An explanation of this tranſaction was demanded: and it was thought convenient mean while, before this explanation arrived, to conſider the tranſaction as a violation of the treaty of Paris. This buſineſs will meet Us hereafter (*x*). Here then it will be ſufficient to obſerve that the letter from Bengal does not breathe that ſpirit of candour and urbanity, which, generally, mark the ſtyle of men accuſtomed to power. But, on the other hand, it was exceedingly well calculated to fan the flames of diſcord, which already began to blaze at Fort St. George (*y*). And it arrived in that critical moment when it might ſerve to ſtiffen the ſtubborn neck of faction.

(*u*) See Narrative, folio 72.

(*x*) The affair of the Dobbeer will be conſidered in the next ſection.

(*y*) The Letter implies a neglect on the part of the government at Fort St. George, as not having been *regular* and *explicit* in their communications to Bengal; to which communications the latter claim a right, becauſe "They are ex-"preſly commanded to co-operate with the government of Madraſs:"—This is not altogether a fair ſtate of the Company's orders. Thoſe orders are conditional; directing the government of Bengal to co-operate with that of Madraſs —"*if the latter ſhould find it neceſſary.*" See Papers, vol. i. folio 28. 224, 225.

The

The anſwer to this ſtrange letter was written with becoming ſpirit: It diſclaimed any improper inattention to the government of Bengal; it explained the tranſaction relative to the Dobbeer; and it treated with the contempt it deſerved the miſapplication of the treaty of Paris (z). This anſwer diſpatched, it was moved, by the Preſident, that the reſolution of the 29th of May, declaring aſſignments of the Nabob to be inadmiſſible, ſhould be confirmed. But it ſoon appeared that, when it was propoſed to re-conſider that reſolution, it was meant and determined to reſcind it. The motion was rejected by a majority of ſeven to five (*a*).

June 13. Motion for confirming the reſolution againſt Benfield's claims rejected.

The next day Lord Pigot, deſirous, if he could not maintain a proper dignity yet, to preſerve a little conſiſtency in the meaſures of government, moved, "That all the claims of Mr. Benfield "were *private*, and not *public*, concerns." But here an unexpected oppoſition aroſe. It had been an invariable cuſtom, that buſineſs introduced by the Preſident ſhould be firſt taken into debate. Motions from members are innovations upon the ancient practice; are contrary to cuſtom. But what is cuſtom? Shall the feeble bands of cuſtom reſtrain the men, whoſe comments deaden, whoſe authority annihilates, the expreſs and written orders of their Maſters! Mr. Mackay recalled it to the attention of the Board, that, on the preceding day, He had ſignified his intention of moving ſome queſtions; that, for the purpoſe of taking theſe important queſtions into conſideration, the Board had then adjourned: in ſpite of cuſtom, therefore, he claimed, as a right that

June 14. A motion made by Lord Pigot poſtponed.

(z) The paragraph relating to the Treaty of Paris runs thus: "We ſhall ne-"ver loſe ſight of the Treaty of Paris, but we cannot believe that Treaty can be "conſtrued to obſtruct any proper meaſures, which may be neceſſary for the Com-"pany's ſecurity, or the ſafety of the Carnatic." Upon the propriety of this paragraph there was a debate and a diviſion. The queſtion for its ſtanding as part of the Letter was carried by ſeven to five.—Papers, vol. i. folio 226—230.

(*a*)

For the Queſtion.		Againſt the Queſtion.	
Mr. Stone,	Mr. Dalrymple,	Mr. Mackay,	Mr. Jourdan,
Mr. Ruſſel,	Mr. Dawſon,	Mr. Palmer,	Mr. Floyer,
The Preſident.		Mr. Brooke,	Sir Robert Fletcher.
		Mr. Stratton.	

his motions ſhould be *firſt* conſidered. To the weight, and to the eloquence, of Mr. Mackay cuſtom bowed its head.

The reſolution of the 29th of May reſcinded by three motions of Mr. Mackay.

The way being thus cleared, the motions of Mr. Mackay were brought forward. They were three in number, and all carried by the ſame majority of ſeven to five. The firſt of theſe motions declares "that the Nabob had a right to the government ſhare of the "crop in the Tanjore country, the produce of grain *ſown* during "the time it was in his poſſeſſion; and that *any* mortgages he may "have given on the ſame were good"—The ſecond directs "that "a letter be written to the Rajah of Tanjore, to inform Him of "the above reſolution of the Board, and to recommend to Him "to give Mr. Benfield all reaſonable aſſiſtance, in recovering ſuch "debts, as *appear* to be juſtly due to Him from the inhabitants, as "well as to *reſtore* to Him the grain of laſt year which *was* in the "poſſeſſion of his people; and *ſaid* to be forcibly taken from "Him"—By the third it was directed "That it ſhould be farther "recommended to the Rajah, to account with Mr. Benfield for "the government ſhare of the grain, in the diſtricts aſſigned to "Him by the Nabob, and *ſaid* to be forcibly taken from his peo-"ple (*b*)."

Remarks on the facts aſſumed in theſe reſolutions.

The firſt thing which ſtrikes us in theſe reſolutions is this. Every thing aſſerted by the Nabob, or by Mr. Benfield, was, upon their ſimple aſſertion, without any other proof, aſſumed as fact. It was reſolved that the Nabob had a right to the government ſhare of the crop: and this reſolution was grounded upon two facts, aſſumed upon the ſimple aſſertion of the Nabob—That He had advanced money to the cultivators—and that He had expended more upon the Tanjore country than He had received from it. By the Rajah, we have ſeen, both theſe facts were denied. One, and only one mode there was of aſcertaining on which ſide was the truth. That

(*b*) See theſe Motions, with the Minutes relating to them in Papers, vol. i. folio 234—251. Vol. ii. folio 51—55.

mode

mode was propoſed by the Preſident, but rejected by Mr. Mackay and his Friends. It was, "to recommend it to the Nabob to ſend "the Amuldars and officers with their accounts into the Tanjore "country, that the Dobbeer might be enabled to lay before the "Board a true ſtate of the Nabob's rights on the government ſhare "of the crop." It was aſſumed as a fact, that the grain of the preceding year had been forcibly taken from Benfield. This had been denied. Mr. Benfield had been publicly called upon to prove it; to name the Seapoy or the officer, who had behaved improperly. He had not done it. The preſumption then was ſtrong that he could not do it. On this head, ſurely, it would have been proper that the grievance ſhould have been proved, before the Rajah was deſired to redreſs that grievance. It was aſſumed as a fact, that the debts, Mr. Benfield claimed from the inhabitants, were juſtly due to Him. This too was denied: Mr. Benfield had given no proof of it. He produced neither bonds, nor books, nor vouchers of any kind. Surely, it would have been proper to have given proofs, that the debts were juſtly due, before the Rajah ſhould be called to inforce the payment of them. Had Benfield appeared with proper vouchers, had He given reaſons why thoſe vouchers could not ſooner be produced, there might have been ſome ground for re-conſidering his claims; perhaps there might have been grounds for altering the reſolution of the 29th of May; it is juſt poſſible—though ſcarcely poſſible—that there might have been grounds for reſcinding it. But when claims had been rejected becauſe the vouchers produced in ſupport of them were inſufficient, barely to re-conſider them without the tender of other, ſufficient, vouchers, without aſſigning a reaſon why thoſe vouchers were not produced in time, would be irregular, partial, and unjuſt. But, without the production of an additional voucher, to admit theſe claims, to ſupport, to enforce them, is a conduct which no remark can place in a light more odious than the bare recital of it.

And on the contradiction between the first and third of these resolutions.

But there is another thing to be remarked in these resolutions. The order contained in the third stands in direct contradiction with the facts assumed in the first. In the first it is assumed, "that the "Nabob had a right to the government share of the crop:" and "that *any mortgages*, which the Nabob might have given on the "same, were good." Now it was notorious to the Board that the mortgages given to Benfield made but a small part of the whole of the mortgages which the Nabob had given on Tanjore. If therefore it were competent to the Board, to decide upon the question of right between the Rajah and the Nabob; if it were competent to the Board to pronounce upon the validity of *all* the mortgages; if it were competent to the Board to see that justice was done to the mortgagees; it was, surely the duty of the Board to see that justice was done, not to Mr. Benfield alone, but to *all* the mortgagees. But what says the Board, in its third resolution? That the Rajah should account with Benfield *alone*, to the total exclusion of all the other mortgagees.

Minutes on Lord Pigot's motion, that Benfield's claims were all private concerns.

The motions of Mr. Mackay having been thus carried in the affirmative, the Board at last condescended to put the motion of the President: "That all the claims of Mr. Benfield were private, and not "public, concerns." The fate of this motion is not easy to be determined. The President, Messrs. Dawson, Russel, Dalrymple, and Stone, were clearly of opinion, that they were *private* claims. The other Gentlemen did not seem to know, whether they were public, or private, or both, or neither. Take their own words, gentle reader, and make what you can of them. "So far as they "regard Mr. Benfield, they are private; so far as they regard the "Nabob's assignments to Mr. Benfield, they are public."—So says the ingenious Mr. Mackay, to which Messrs. Jourdan, Palmer and Stratton say *Amen*. "They are *undoubtedly of a private na-* "*ture*, but from *intervening* causes are now become"—not of a public nature, (for the nature of a thing is of the essence of a thing, and that, you know, does not change) but—"a matter wor-

"thy

"thy of public conſideration"—So opines the florid Mr. Floyer; to whoſe authority lowly bows the meek Mr. Brooke. Sir Robert Fletcher thinks them "*private* claims, ſo blended with "the affairs of the Nabob's government, and conſequently ſo "connected with the intereſts of the Company, that they become, "in ſome meaſure, claims of a public nature."

Attempt to explain theſe minutes.

I am not very willing to ſuppoſe, that ſeven Gentlemen, of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities, ſhould gravely give to be recorded, in a public conſultation, a ſtring of minutes, to which no meaning can be affixed. I have therefore given my Self no ſmall pains to aſcertain the meaning of theſe minutes After the moſt painful inveſtigation it appears to be this. So far as the intereſts of the Nabob, ſo far as his right to the crop, are concerned, ſo far this is a public claim. So far as the intereſts of Paul Benfield, ſo far as his right to recover the debts He claims, are concerned, ſo far it is a private claim. Let us connect theſe minutes with a former reſolution of the Board, and then let us ſee what ſhould have been the inference. The Council had reſolved to buy *all* the crop of the Rajah: this reſolution ſtood unreſcinded—The Council had reſolved, that the Nabob had a right to the government ſhare of the crop: this reſolution was not yet dry upon the paper—The Nabob's claim was a public claim: So ſay the majority—Benfield's claim is a private claim: So ſay the ſame majority.—What ſhould have followed? Surely this, and this only—A reſolution to write to the Rajah, that, in accompting to Him for the grain They had bought, the produce of the government ſhare muſt be kept back for the uſes to which it had been aſſigned by the Nabob: for His was a public claim—A reſolution that Benfield and the other creditors of the Nabob, who had aſſignments on the country of Tanjore, ſhould prove their debts, and receive their reſpective portions of this produce; and be left for the ballance to their remedy at law: for this was a private claim. But no doubt the Board had their reaſons for ſupporting Mr. Benfield, and *him* only:

ly. His claims, though private, were not, perhaps, the claims of an individual: they were probably *common*, if not *public* claims. It ſuited not their purpoſe to mediate between the Nabob and the Rajah. It was eſſential to their ſchemes, that Comera, the Dubaſh of Benfield, his Black Man to the Southward, ſhould tranſact the buſineſs of Benfield at Tanjore (*c*).

Motion on the Nabob's Letter to Sir Edward Hughes.

The triumph of the friends of the Nabob was complete. They had overturned a reſolution, ſolemnly confirmed three ſeveral times. They had publicly declared the orders of the Company and of former Boards, to be of no force; to be null and void, as though they had never been: They had, hereby, increaſed the confidence of their friend the Nabob, confirmed his hopes, that Tanjore would be reſtored to Him; They had given the ſtrongeſt alarm to the Rajah, and made Him feel, that the throne, he had juſt reaſcended, tottered under Him. Lord Pigot ſaw the tendency of theſe cabals. He wiſhed, if poſſible, to ſtop them. He knew that the eaſy intercourſe between the Council and his Highneſs ſerved only to foment them. To that intercourſe therefore, He thought it neceſſary to put an end. As a preparatory ſtep He moved the following queſtion:

(*c*) If they had adjudged the claims of Benfield to be *private*, it *did* follow—that they were contrary to the orders of the Company—it *ought* to follow—that the Board could not interfere in the recovery of them. Not at all, ſay Meſſrs. Stratton, Fletcher, Brooke, Floyer, Palmer, Jourdan, and Mackay: "The loan "may be contrary to the orders of the Board of 1769, but theſe had been deem-"ed of *ſo little force*, that the government ſaw them *daily broken through* without "remark." (Papers, vol. i. folio 253.) As to the Company's orders in 1771. They *mean* only to reſtrain the particular loans of money, of which the Nabob then complained; though they are expreſſed in *general* terms. The Company often intereſt their Selves for European creditors; and therefore we will *not* refer theſe claims, as the Preſident adviſes, to the Company, but will inforce them our Selves. We are maſters here. Acting under the authority of a former Preſident, Benfield had paid money to the Dutch on accompt of the Nabob; therefore, *without* ſuch authority, He may lend money to the Nabob now. (See ib. & folio 254.) Thus, reader, do ſeven ſervants of the Company, high in office, in a Minute deliberately made, dare to juſtify the breach of their Maſters' orders.

"It

"It is the opinion of this Board, that the letter from the Na-
"bob to Sir Edward Hughes was written purpoſely to create ani-
"moſity between the members of this government (*d*)."

The Nabob's letter was written in *Engliſh*, a language of which He is ſo ignorant, that He cannot read one word of it—It was not ſent till a *whole week* after the alarm, which it pretends to have been given, and the inſult which it pretends to have been offered—During the courſe of that week Lord Pigot had received a viſit from the two eldeſt ſons of the Nabob—Inſtead of the complaints which, as eye-witneſſes of ſuch an inſult, they muſt have made, theſe ſons brought a meſſage of compliments from their father.—Under all theſe circumſtances it muſt appear probable, that the letter related facts which did not happen, expreſt apprehenſions which the Nabob could *not feel*. The conſequence is unavoidable. It *was* written, as the motion ſuppoſes it to have been written, purpoſely to create that animoſity among the members of the Board, which it was ſo well calculated to create; and which the abuſe, pretended to have been thrown out by his Lordſhip againſt the members of the Board, did, as one of the members avowed, actually produce.

This motion being carried by the caſting voice of the Preſident (*e*), his Lordſhip proceeded to move

Motion againſt viſiting the Nabob.

"That, agreeable to the Company's ſtanding orders, no mem-
"ber of the Council do henceforth viſit, or correſpond, by writing
"or by meſſage, with the Nabob, or either of his ſons (*f*)."

(*d*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 259—261. Vol. ii. folio 59, 60.

(*e*)

For the Queſtion.		Againſt the Queſtion.	
Mr. Stone,	Mr. Dalrymple,	Mr. Mackay,	Mr. Jourdan,
Ruſſel,	Brooke,	Palmer,	Floyer,
Dawſon,	Preſident.	Sir Robert Fletcher,	Stratton.

(*f*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 261—264. Vol. ii. folio 60.

His

Grounds of that motion.

His Lordſhip introduced this motion by obſerving, that the letter, written to Sir Edward Hughes, made it improper, nay indecent, for any member of the Council to viſit the Nabob at preſent: He enforced it by obſerving, that, by ſome means or other, the Nabob had been acquainted with the late proceedings of the Board; and it became therefore due to their own characters to abſtain from ſuch viſits at preſent. Here then two queſtions will ariſe. Is it true, as the motion aſſerts, that to viſit, or correſpond with the Nabob or his ſons, was contrary to the ſtanding orders of the Company? Does it appear, as his Lordſhip argues, that the particular circumſtances alleged made it particularly neceſſary, at this moment, to adhere to thoſe orders? The one is a queſtion of *fact*, the other of *opinion*.

Such viſits were contrary to the ſtanding orders of the Company.

As to the fact, it is already decided. Then, when we conſidered the letter of the Nabob to the Commodore, We proved, beyond a doubt, that ſuch intercourſe with any of the Princes of the country was contrary to the ſtanding orders of the Company. Nothing can be clearer, nothing can be expreſt with greater preciſion, than the orders of the Company recited on that occaſion. Words cannot be plainer or ſtronger. To the authorities then cited We may here add the following extract of a letter from the Governor-general and Council to the Preſidency of Madraſs, written ſo late as the year 1775, toward the end of the adminiſtration of Mr. Wynch; but not received at Fort St. George till *after Lord Pigot's arrival*—"The orders iſſued by You, forbidding *all the* Company's Ser-"vants and Dependents from *viſiting the Nabob, without the per-"miſſion of the Preſident, was conſonant to the orders of the Company, "and agreeable to the former practice of your government* (g)." By

(g) Mr. Jourdan aſſented to the order here approved by the government of Bengal. He now diſſents to a like order. Yet he ſays He is *conſiſtent*.—How ſo?—In 1775 a matter of great importance was before the Board? Was it a matter of ſmall importance before the Board in 1776? In 1775 the prohibition was general: did Lord Pigot wiſh to confine it in 1776? Why not *amend*, inſtead of rejecting his motion? But the order was uſeleſs. Why? Becauſe it was *not obeyed*.

iſſuing this order, the government at Fort St. George, at that time admitted it to be right to forbid *all* the Servants of the Company to viſit the Nabob, without the leave of the Preſident: by approving this order, the government of Bengal did then alſo declare it to be right, conſonant to the orders of the Company, conſonant to practice. This was during the adminiſtration of Mr. Wynch. Lord Pigot ſucceeds to Mr. Wynch. He propoſes to adopt the ſame meaſure: no: *times and circumſtances* are changed: the orders of the Company, the practice of our Governments are null and void as though they never had been: what was right in Mr. Wynch, becomes in You, Lord Pigot, an invaſion of the Nabob's rights as an independent Prince.

And peculiarly improper now.

So plain however were theſe orders, ſo recent was this approbation of them, that among the gentlemen, who oppoſed the queſtion, one, and one only (*h*), *at the time* (*i*), either denied them, or endeavoured to explain away the meaning of them. The others oppoſed the motion profeſſedly on another ground. Diſputes had ariſen between their Preſident and the Nabob: "The Nabob had "accuſed their Preſident:" "The accuſations were now before "the Board." Theſe facts are admitted: nay more, they are among the reaſons alleged by Lord Pigot in *ſupport* of his motion. This then is the queſtion of opinion. From theſe given facts did Lord Pigot, or his opponents, argue rightly? If the Board conſidered theſe accuſations as officially before Them, ſurely They ought to have no private intercourſe with the accuſer. If as calumnies refuted by his Lordſhip's anſwer, ſurely They ſhould convince the Nabob, that He had failed of his end: that ſo far

ed. Theſe gentlemen may *vote*, but indeed they ſhould not *minute*.—See Papers, vol. i. folio 285, 286.—See alſo Mr. Mackay's Minute, ibid. fol. 297.

(*h*) Mr. Mackay. The Nabob does not ſeem to do juſtice to the merits of this gentleman in thinking him ſo "inſignificant."—See Papers, vol. ii. fol. 63.

(*i*) They attempted this afterwards: a ſpecimen of this web of ſophiſtry has been given in the laſt note but one.

from exciting *animoſity*, He had only put a ſtop to the little diſagreements, which had crept into the Council; had only united the members together. This motion, like the former, was carried by the caſting voice of the Preſident.

Motion that it be recommended to the Nabob to reſide at Arcot.

Thus much obtained, in purſuance of the ſame plan of putting an end to the intercourſe between the Nabob and the Council, the Preſident proceeded to move:

"That it be recommended to the Nabob to reſide at Arcot."

Reaſons for this Motion.

The inconveniencies which muſt ariſe from the reſidence of a man, within the bounds of the Company, not ſubject to the laws of the Company, claiming to his Self the rights of an independent Prince, to his dependents an exemption from the proceſs of the Courts, might have been foreſeen, had They not yet been experienced. But they had been experienced, and that to an alarming degree. By arguments, drawn from this very topic was this motion enforced. Within the ſhort time of his Lordſhip's adminiſtration theſe inconveniencies had been ſeverely felt. Within that ſhort ſpace the reſidence of the Nabob within the bounds of the Company had more than once reduced his Lordſhip almoſt to the neceſſity of chuſing between a total rupture with the Nabob, or a total dereliction of the powers of government. Were ſuits inſtituted, in the Mayor's Court, againſt the family and attendants of the Nabob? Applications were made, exemptions were claimed, which could not but be very embarraſſing. Was the authority of the court to be ſupported? The Nabob would complain of rights invaded, dignity violated, and honour wounded. Were the claims of the Nabob to be allowed? Where would they ſtop? Who ſhould define the number of Servants, of dependents, to whom the mighty Nabob was to extend his protection? Was an aſylum to be opened, within the bounds of the Company, for any number of men, who choſe to evade the authority of the Courts of the Com-

Company? ſeize the property, inſult the perſons, take away the lives, of thoſe, who had a claim to the protection of the Company? For not from the civil laws alone was that exemption claimed; the ſame exemption was claimed from the juriſdiction of the criminal courts. His Lordſhip ſpeaks of the moſt atrocious crimes committed within the bounds of the Company, either by the dependents of the Nabob, or by people, who were afterwards ſheltered by the Nabob, and ſcreened, by Him, from the vindictive juſtice of the law. He ſpeaks of robberies committed; of children ſtolen; of tortures inflicted; of murders perpetrated. Of theſe atrocious acts He ſpeaks as of events, which had fallen within his own obſervation; which were notorious to the Board. Under theſe circumſtances what was a Governor to do? Was He to ſuffer informations of ſuch atrocious crimes to paſs unnoticed? Ill, ſurely, would He deſerve the truſt repoſed in Him. Was He not paſſive? Did He fulfil the firſt great duty of government—protect the oppreſſed, and puniſh the oppreſſors?—Again He was accuſed of violating the dignity, and degrading the honour, and wounding the feelings, of the Nabob. It was, therefore, to avoid this, and every other, occaſion of giving diſguſt, or of exciting diſcontent; it was effectually to prevent all miſunderſtandings, that the Preſident moved to recommend it to the Nabob to reſide—there, where every Prince ought to reſide, in his own dominions, at his own capital—in Arcot.

To a motion thus evidently calculated for the common advantage of the Company, and of the people of Arcot, what objections could ariſe (*k*)? In the minutes, entered on the conſultation of

Arguments urged againſt this motion.

(*k*) I ſay—"for the common advantage of the Company and of the people of "Arcot"—That the reſidence within any community, of any perſon, who claims exemption from the laws of the community, is highly inconvenient, may be ſeen, in ſome degree, even from the reſidence of ambaſſadors. Complaints of violations of the *fiſcal* and the *civil* laws, by people under their protection, are but too

this day, not even an attempt is made to anſwer the reaſons alleged by Lord Pigot in defence of the motion. It is ſaid, indeed, that the reſidence of the Nabob at Madraſs is attended with advantages: it is ſaid, that inconveniencies would ariſe from his removal: it is ſaid, that the motion would increaſe the jealouſy of the Nabob: it is ſaid that no good end could be anſwered by the motion, becauſe the Nabob could not be *compelled* to comply with it. All this was ſaid; but was it proved? What were the advantages of the Nabob's reſidence at Madraſs; what inconvenience could ariſe from his removal; how his jealouſy ſhould be increaſed, by withdrawing from a ſituation, which furniſhed continual food for jealouſy, we are left—and it is no eaſy taſk—to divine. It was not ſaid, becauſe, even by theſe gentlemen, it could not be ſaid, that to ſtop the inconveniencies, to cruſh the enormities, of which the Preſident complained, of which He brought proofs, was not a good end. And this was the end, which the Preſident, and thoſe, who ſupported his motion, profeſt to have in view. They meant it as a warning, as a firm and manly declaration, to the Nabob, that, if He thought proper to remain at Madraſs, He muſt not expect to ſee the regular courſe of juſtice ſuſpended or impeded (*l*). All thoughts of compulſion on the Nabob (*m*) were diſclaimed, and

frequent. Yet upon ambaſſadors there are reſtraints. Though, in many inſtances, they cannot be reached by the laws of the country where they reſide, the diſpleaſure of their own ſovereign is a very ſufficient reſtraint. How different is the caſe of a man, who *arrogates* ſupremacy, who *acknowledges* no ſuperior, becauſe his ſuperior is too weak, or too diſtant, to enforce obedience! That the reſidence of a Governor in the country He is to govern; that the circulation of the ſums, levied for the ſupport of government, among the people upon whom they are levied, are advantages to a people—That truſting the adminiſtration of government to the deputies of deputies; that drawing the ſums, levied for the ſupport of government, from the country where they are levied, and expending them "in creating princely fortunes" for ſtrangers †, are ruinous to a country—are propoſitions which admit neither of denial, nor of proof. They are ſelf-evident.

(*l*) See Mr. Dalrymple's Minute, Papers, vol. i. fol. 267.

(*m*) Had the Nabob been ſerious in the apprehenſions he expreſt of *perſonal violence* from Lord Pigot, would He not, of his own accord, have withdrawn from a

† The Nabob complains that He was forced to create princely fortunes for the ſervants of the Company.

ſituation,

therefore, that He could not be compelled to comply with the recommendation was no objection to the intent propoſed by the motion.

An objection indeed of another nature was taken to it; the objector (*n*) ſoared higher; not in point of argument, but in pompoſity of ſtyle, in, what, no doubt, He thought, dignity of ſentiment. "When I conſider (ſays the Commander in Chief) the "*friendſhip* ſubſiſting between our Sovereign Lord the King and "the Nabob, and his Highneſs's cloſe *connection* with the Com"pany, and the Engliſh nation in general, I ſhould think myſelf "*extremely criminal* if I were to give my aſſent to the motion (*o*)." Friendſhip! Connection! Friendſhip between our Sovereign Lord the King and the Nabob! Cloſe connection of his Highneſs with the Engliſh nation! For whom could this great Commander miſtake this inferior ſervant of the King of Delhi? Friendſhip is a term of *equality*: and is our ſovereign Lord the King degraded, is the Majeſty of the King of Great Britain ſunk, to a level with the Deputy of the Deputy of the King of Delhi! Connection, as the term ſtands here contradiſtinguiſhed from friendſhip, implies a ſtate of ſuperiority on the part of the Nabob; a ſtate of inferiority, of dependence, on the part of the nation. And was the Britiſh Commander on the Coaſt of Coromandel ſo entirely devoted to this inferior ſervant of the King of Delhi; was He ſo determined an enemy to the honour of his own nation, that He wiſhed to recall Us "a ces tems d' humiliations, où les Anglois etoient forcés, pour "le bien de leur commerce, d'aller timidement porter leurs pre"ſens et leurs hommages à de petits Chefs de Bourgades ..... "on le Nabob d'Arcot, *tout petit Seigneur* qu'il etoit, comparé au "Soubah du Decan, dont il *n'etoit que le Fermier*, traitoit avec nous.

Another objection taken to it by Sir Robert Fletcher.

ſituation, where only violence could be offered? Is it poſſible that Lord Pigot ſhould want to keep the Nabob *in his own power*, and yet, at the ſame time, preſs for his removal to Arcot where He would be out of the reach of that power?

(*n*) Sir Robert Fletcher. (*o*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 267.

"comme

"comme un Souverain avec ſes ſujets (*p*)." But grant, for a moment, that the Nabob of Arcot had been raiſed to ſuch a height as could juſtify him in arrogating the title of the friend of the King of Great Britain; grant, for a moment, that He were a Sovereign, an independent Prince; would it therefore be criminal to recommend it to him to return to his own dominions; to reſide in his own capital? Would it be criminal even to *compel* Him to withdraw from the territories of the King of Great Britain (*q*)?

Joint minute of ſeven wiſe men againſt it.

But the great Commander in oppoſing this motion, did not mean to confine his Self to this inſult on his Sovereign and his nation. Other reaſons He had; but not at hand; He promiſed to deliver them thereafter, and in a written diſſent. To give perfection to the compoſition; to ſtamp dignity on the delivery of this diſſent, ſix other members were aſſociated to the Commander. But this diſſent, this effort of ſeven united ſtateſmen, what does it contain? Not a refutation of a ſingle argument, not a diſproval of a ſingle fact, alleged by his Lordſhip. Not a ſingle advantage is *proved* to have ariſen from the reſidence of the Nabob at Madraſs: Not a ſingle inconvenience that muſt ariſe from his removal. It is indeed aſſerted—but to aſſert is not to prove—"that the great in-"creaſe of inhabitants, and the conſequence of trade, and the "proſperity of this ſettlement are inconteſtible proofs of the ad-

(*p*) In theſe terms it is that Monſ. de Buſſy ſpeaks of this mighty, this independent, Prince: this Nabob of Arcot. See Extract of a Letter from Mr. de Buſſy, publiſhed by Mr. Cambridge in his Account of the War in India. Introduction, ſol. xxix.

(*q*) Peter the Great reſided ſome time in England. Suppoſe He had ordered his own people to commit robberies, ſteal children, inflict tortures, perpetrate murthers, upon perſons under the protection of the Engliſh laws; ſuppoſe He had aſſumed the right of protecting thoſe who had committed ſuch atrocious crimes; ſuppoſe He had amuſed his Self by ordering the Knout to be inflicted on his own ſuite, or their tongues to be cut out; would it have been thought CRIMINAL to recommend it to Him, would it have been thought criminal to *compel* Him, to quit England? With what horror muſt this punctilious officer have reflected on the proceedings againſt Mary, Queen of Scotland!

"vantages

"vantages reſulting from the Nabob's reſidence here (*r*)." By what proofs is this aſſertion ſupported? Take them as they ſtand. —"Were He (the Nabob) to leave Madraſs, great Numbers of "people would follow Him, and the Company's revenues thereby "be decreaſed."—That, if the Nabob retired, the inhabitants of Madraſs would be diminiſhed by *one*; that, if his dependents followed Him, the inhabitants of Madraſs would be diminiſhed by juſt the number of theſe dependents, are diſcoveries, which the ſeven wiſe men of Gotham might have made, as well as the ſeven Counſellors of Fort St. George.—But "the revenues of the Com-"pany:" "the proſperity of the ſettlement."—"By ſpecious argu-"ments" (ſays the Nabob to the Company) "your Servants have "made You believe that They were attentive to *your intereſts*; "when their own private views have been the real ſpring of "action (*s*)." It is not eaſy to get rid of ancient habits. The ſeven ſtateſmen have imperceptibly fallen into their old track. Thinking only of *their Selves*, they have here ſubſtituted the *Company* and the *ſettlement*.—What was this boaſted wealth of the ſettlement? "It is" (ſays Lord Pigot) (*t*) "almoſt entirely confined to "Europeans, and ſhews it ſelf in diſſipation and extravagance of "every kind, which can never be to the Company's advantage. "Almoſt none of the natives, except ſuch as have *had the handling* "*the public money* are affluent. There are hardly any black merchants "of ſubſtance. The Nabob *racks the country to ſquander money* "*idly away, which ought to be laid out in the improvement of the Car-*"*natic*. This would be a ſource of real wealth to Madraſs, and, "in time of exigency, might enable Him to ſupport his govern-"ment."

Among the arguments alleged in ſupport of the motion, it had been urged (*u*), that "the Durbar politics had been almoſt the

The removal of the Nabob, neceſſary to.

(*r*) See this Minute at length, Papers, vol. i. fol. 289—291.
(*s*) See back, fol. 83. (*t*) See Papers, vol. ii. fol. 62.
(*u*) By Mr. Ruſſel, Papers, vol. i. fol. 267.

only

put a ſtop to the intrigues carried on by the members of the government at the Durbar of the Nabob.

" only ſource of the diſſenſions that, of late years, had prevailed " at the Board; and would ever be ſo, whileſt the Nabob conti- " nued to reſide ſo near the members of the Government (x)." Lord Pigot brings this charge yet more home. He declares, that the Nabob had endeavoured, by undue offers, to attach *Members of the Government* to *his* intereſts. He names one gentleman (y), among others, to whom ſuch offers had been made. This ſurely was another very cogent argument for deſiring the removal of the Nabob. And to this, what have our ſeven ſtateſmen to reply? The fact They do not deny; They pretend to admit it. But, admitting it, They draw a contrary concluſion. " Were it ad- " mitted," they ſay, " that intrigues have been carried on, or are " carrying on, at the Durbar, no danger can be apprehended from " them, under the *attention of this Government*." By the words— " Were it admitted"—if They mean any thing, it muſt be meant, that the gentlemen, for the ſake of argument, admit that fact, which was alleged in ſupport of the motion; that fact, for this purpoſe, is to be the datum. What then was the fact alleged? It was, We have ſeen, that intrigues had been carried on, were *then* carrying on, at the Durbar, among others, *by Members of this Government*. What becomes of the concluſion of the ſeven wiſe men? Will the attention of this government be a ſufficient ſecu- rity againſt all dangers to be apprehended from intrigues carrying on by the Members of this Government?

Motion carried in the negative.

Had this motion been carried, the peace of Tanjore would have been ſecured; the province of Arcot would have flouriſhed; and

(x) Among *Us* is Mr. Ruſſell's phraſe.

(y) Mr. Dawſon (Papers, vol. ii. fol. 62.) His Lordſhip ſingled out this gentleman, not becauſe He was the only one, to whom offers had been made, but, probably, becauſe, of thoſe, to whom offers had been made, He was the only one who " had been incapable of being induced to accept ſuch offers." The Nabob, indeed, or his Agents, in the very attempt to ſeduce, ſeem to have reſpected Mr. D's integrity. It was only a *negative* breach of his duty to which They attempted to engage Him.

the

the government of Madraſs been ſaved from the rude ſhock of a revolution, by which all our poſſeſſions on the Coaſt of Coromandel yet ſhake from their foundation. But on this queſtion, which being rejected the two others were but nugatory, Mr. Brooke ſhrunk from his duty, changed ſides, and voted with the friends of the Nabob. It was carried againſt the queſtion by a majority of ſeven to five (z).

June 24.—July 8. Attempt to reſcind the motions relative to the Nabob's letter, and to viſiting the Nabob.

And this may, in fact, be conſidered as the laſt act of Lord Pigot's public adminiſtration. From this moment, to the hour of his Lordſhip's arreſt, the whole attention of the majority of the Board was directed, all their powers were employed, not to execute the orders, not to conduct the buſineſs, of the Company, but to thwart the meaſures, and to curtail the power, of the Preſident. The expedient of re-conſidering and reſcinding to-day, what had been fully conſidered, and, as it ſhould have ſeemed, finally determined, yeſterday, had already been tried with ſucceſs. This was an expedient which gave conſiſtency, which imparted dignity, to the proceedings of the Board; which effectually tended to accelerate the diſpatch of buſineſs. It was again determined to have recourſe to the ſame happy expedient. It was determined to reſcind the reſolutions reſpecting the *intent* of the Letter from the Nabob to the Commodore: It was determined to reſcind the reſolution which related to the viſiting, or holding correſpondence with, the Nabob or his ſons.—I will not abuſe the patience of the reader by continuing to recite, or even to abridge; I will not inſult his underſtanding by continuing to anſwer, the ſophiſtry and miſrepreſentations, by which it was attempted to juſtify this flagrant violation of every thing that is orderly, every thing that is proper, every thing that is decent in

(z)

For the Queſtion.		Againſt the Queſtion.	
Mr. Stone,	Mr. Dalrymple,	Mr. Mackay,	Mr. Jourdan,
Mr. Ruſſel,	Mr. Dawſon,	Mr. Palmer,	Mr. Floyer,
The Preſident.		Mr. Brooke,	Sir Robert Fletcher,
		Mr. Stratton.	

government. The reader may turn to the originals (*a*). From their own mouths let him learn, that what was deemed a neceſſary precaution when the Nabob was only *ſuſpected* of "an intention to "place his *ſecond ſon* in the government of the fort and country of "Tanjore, which was *thought* to be prejudicial to the intereſts of "the Company;" was not to be endured now, that the Nabob *avowed* an intention of getting and keeping the government of Tanjore in *his own* hands; an event, which was not *thought* to be prejudicial, but, by the Company it Self, had been declared to be ruinous, to the intereſts of the Company. From their own mouths let Him learn, that what was deemed a neceſſary precaution, when "ſome "of the members of the Council were only *ſaid* to hold frequent "conferences with the Nabob and his ſecond ſon, only *believed* "to ſupport them in meaſures prejudicial to the intereſts of the "Company;" was not to be endured now that ſome of the Council were *known* to hold frequent conferences with the Nabob and his ſons; *known* to ſupport them in meaſures prejudicial to the intereſts of the Company. From their own mouths let Him learn, that to be conſiſtent is to deſcribe ſimilar circumſtances, and declare them to be entirely different; is, under certain circumſtances, to vote, in one year, for certain meaſures, and, under the ſame circumſtances, to declare, the very next year, the ſame meaſures to be abominable (*b*).

Lord Pigot refuſes to put the queſtion for reſcinding theſe reſolutions.

This irregular, this diſorderly motion, for reſcinding reſolutions paſt but a few days before, was made on the 24th of June: but, partly on account of the abſence of one of the members of the Council, partly on account of the intervention of other buſineſs, the conſideration of it was deferred till the 8th of July. Then it was that Lord Pigot had recourſe to the exerciſe of a power, which He conceived to be veſted in Him by the conſtitution of the govern-

(*a*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 292—294. Ib. fol. 320.

(*b*) See Mr. Brooke's Minute, Papers, vol. i. fol. 320. This gentleman piques his Self on his conſiſtency; and proves his claim to it as we have ſeen above.

ment;

ment; and the exertion of which He ſaw to be the only poſſible mode of putting a ſtop to a practice, which, in general, tended to debaſe the dignity of the Council, to give an air of puerility and ridicule to all their proceedings, to obſtruct the courſe of public buſineſs; which, in this particular inſtance, could not fail to increaſe the, already almoſt unſurmountable, difficulties of conducting the buſineſs of the Company with the Nabob. He, therefore, declared, that He never would give his conſent to the queſtion being put (*c*).

June 28. Propoſal to eſtabliſh a factory at Tanjore.

In the mean time another propoſal, of no ſmall importance, had been laid before the Board. Among the other marks of gratitude expreſt by the Rajah, ſtands a propoſal, that "the Company ſhould "ſend proper perſons to attempt an inveſtment in his country, "where They might be ſure to meet with every ſupport and aſſiſt-"ance that could be received from his authority (*d*)."

Advantages of this propoſal.

The advantages of this propoſal, conſidered either in a commercial, or in a political, light, were many and important. Conſidered in a commercial light, this propoſal held forth to the Company an opportunity of extending their inveſtment for Europe; ſhould any ſurplus remain out of the four lacks of pagodas, deſtined, by the Rajah, for the maintenance of the troops, garriſons, and fortifications of Tanjore, it furniſhed the moſt eligible means of conveying that ſurplus to Fort St. George. Conſidered in a political light, the advantages of this propoſal were yet more important. The relation between the Company and the Rajah of Tanjore, is, by the terms of his reſtoration, become more cloſe; the connection more intimate: new and extenſive relations ariſe from this con-

(*c*) See Papers, vol. ii. fol. 64, 65. Whether this was the exertion of a power legally veſted in the Preſident, is a queſtion, which will meet Us in the next Section. If it were legal, it certainly never could be exerted on an occaſion of more urgent neceſſity, nor to purpoſes more truly conſtitutional.

(*d*) See Papers, vol. ii. fol. 346.

nection. It is by the particular attention of the government of Fort St. George, that all the different intereſts ariſing from theſe relations are to be ſettled and maintained: by that government it is, that all the diſputes which may ariſe between the Nabob and the Rajah, or between the Rajah and the Polygars bordering on Tanjore, are now to be examined and adjuſted. The appointment of a Chief and Council, ſubordinate to the Preſidency of Fort St. George, could not but facilitate the execution of meaſures, which connections more intimate, relations more various and extenſive, a ſituation, in many reſpects, almoſt new, might, from time to time, call on them to adopt. On the one hand, ſuch an appointment would give confidence to the Rajah, and convince Him, that He is really protected; on the other hand it would be a check upon Him, upon the Nabob, upon the neighbouring Polygars. If contradictory claims ſhould be advanced, if diſputes ſhould ariſe, the truth could be more ſpeedily, more preciſely aſcertained: the neceſſary inſtructions and orders would be communicated with more facility, and executed with more diſpatch. The judicious and frugal expenditure of the annual payment of four lacks of pagodas, to be made by the Rajah—the maintenance of an adequate force—the due ſupply of military ſtores—the repair of fortifications—the erection of buildings within the town—all theſe were objects of ſuch importance, as ſeemed to require the immediate inſpection and control of a Chief and Council, who ſhould keep a regular correſpondence with the government of Fort St. George.

Unhandſome attempt to throw out this motion by the previous queſtion.

Theſe important advantages his Lordſhip ſaw, and ſenſibly felt them. He repreſented them to the Board with that clearneſs, he urged the Board to ſecure them with that warmth and energy which have ever characteriſed Lord Pigot, when acting in the ſervice of the public (*e*). By the Majority of the Council, however, the propoſal was received with that coldneſs and ſuſpicion, which every liberal, every manly, propoſal ſeems fated to encounter, from

(*e*) See Papers, vol. ii. fol. 346, 347.

the

the Majority of the Council at Fort St. George. That the reaſons urged by his Lordſhip deſerved the moſt ſerious deliberation was conſeſt; that farther *time* ſhould be allowed to form a judgment was urged: from theſe conceſſions the natural concluſion ſeems to have been, that another day ſhould have been appointed to take the motion into conſideration. But the honeſt Commander could not hear, without horror, of the inſpection, the control, of a Chief and Council, over the expenditure of a ſum, every chuckram of which He had already, in imagination, faſt locked within the military cheſt. Having therefore allowed, as we have ſeen, that the reaſons alleged by the Preſident merited the moſt ſerious conſideration: having urged that farther *time* was neceſſary to give that conſideration; the great Commander, with his uſual conſiſtence, moved, that the reaſons ſhould never be conſidered, that the motion ſhould be thrown out by a previous queſtion *(f)*.

This, as Lord Pigot conceived, unexampled attempt of putting the previous queſtion on a motion made by the Preſident his Lordſhip firmly reſiſted (*g*). A day therefore was appointed for determining the queſtion. On the day appointed the Council met. The members who oppoſed the meaſure were very liberal in their minutes, but very ſparing in their reaſons. Theſe Minutes, however, and theſe reaſons, ſuch as they were, ſatisfied their underſtandings. The motion was rejected by a majority of ſeven to five (*h*). July 8. Motion rejected.

(f) See Papers, vol. ii. fol. 348, 349. Sir Robert conſtantly betrays the ſecret motives of his conduct. He here declares, that the four lacks of pagodas ſhould be appropriated to the *military* ſervice: of that ſervice He was at the head. The unappropriated part, He ſays, ſhould be reſtored to the Rajah; but immediately ſubjoins, that the military eſtabliſhment ſhould be *increaſed*. He would ſcarcely have impoveriſhed the cheſt by reſtitutions. The abſolute payment of four lacks has ſince been accepted by the Company.

(*g*) How far his Lordſhip was right will be conſidered in the next ſection.

(*h*)

For the Queſtion.		Againſt it.	
Meſſrs. Stone,	Dalrymple,	Meſſrs. Mackay,	Jourdan,
Ruſſell,	Dawſon,	Palmer,	Floyer,
The Preſident.		Brooke,	Fletcher,
		Stratton.	

It

Motion to appoint Mr. Ruſſell reſident at Tanjore.

The advantages propoſed by the eſtabliſhment of a ſubordinate Chief and Council were, We have ſeen, partly commercial and partly political. By the rejection of that propoſal the commercial advantages were, for the preſent, abandoned. But his Lordſhip conceived, that a mode might yet be found of ſecuring, to a certain degree, the political advantages. And this was by the appointment of a *Reſident* to the Court of Tanjore. This appointment,

It is impoſſible to *anſwer* theſe minutes, or even to give the *purport* without the *tenor* of them.

" For true *no meaning* puzzles more than ſenſe."

As a ſpecimen, however, I have ſelected two of the moſt labored. So at leaſt I ſuppoſe them to be; becauſe it is particularly minuted that the one was delivered *in writing*, and the other entered by the gentleman who gave it.

Mr. Palmer.—" I *do* object to the motion, as I *do not* ſee the advantages that " the Preſident mentions will accrue to the Company from this meaſure being " adopted. If his Lordſhip means the *eſtabliſhment* of an inveſtment, as I conceive " *He does, it does* not appear to Me that ſuch *can* ariſe, as I am of *opinion*, that *was* " ſuch a meaſure thought *proper*, no ſtep can be *ſo proper* as an increaſe of *that* to " the northward. I *do* farther object as I think it *cannot* meet with the approbation " of our Honourable Maſters."—This feeble, rickety, thing was " delivered *in* " *writing*."

Mr. Floyer.—" The nomination of a Chief and Council to Tanjore is, in my " opinion, directly contrary to the ſpirit, if not the words of the Honourable Com- " pany's commands, tranſmitted to Us by the Grenville, in the following paragraph " of their Separate Letter, the 12th April, 1775, par. 7."

A man muſt have the diſcernment of a Floyer to find out this direct contrariety. Here is the paragraph.

" You are, however, in our name to aſſure the King of Tanjore, that no dimi- " nution of his authority over his ſubjects is intended by Us; and that We will " ſeverely puniſh any military officer, or Company's ſervant, who ſhall, in any " reſpect, interfere in the affairs of his government; and You are to take eſpecial " care, that this article be punctually fulfilled "—How the *letter*, or the ſpirit of this order, could be directly or indirectly, or in any way, contradicted by the appointment of Chief and Council at Tanjore, is more than I am able to conceive. I cannot conceive how to comply with a requeſt of the Rajah is to *interfere* in the affairs of the government of the Rajah. Some one humorouſly propoſed, that the Members of the Houſe of Commons ſhould vote firſt on one ſide, and ſpeak afterwards on the other. This advice would be admirably well adapted for the Majority of the Council at Fort St. George.

at

at leaſt, would ſerve to ſtrengthen the reliance of the Rajah on the Company: would give Him weight in the eyes of his own ſubjects, and of the neighbouring Princes: would check the intrigues, the cabals, to which a government but juſt re-eſtabliſhed muſt be ever expoſed. It was perhaps a neceſſary means of ſeating Him firmly on that throne to which He had juſt been reſtored. Steady, therefore, in the ſervice of the Company; unwearied by contradiction; undiſguſted by the petulance of a ſelf-intereſted oppoſition; his Lordſhip propoſed this appointment of a Reſident. To the choice of the perſon whom He recommended to this important ſtation, envy it ſelf, one would have thought, could not have ſtarted an objection (*i*). He recommended Mr. Ruſſell. This

(*i*) Here again that great diſcoverer, the author of the *Caſe*, has given Us no mean proof of his abilities. He opens the treaſures of his imagination; culls a certain number of *poſſible* circumſtances; arranges them; produces them as facts; and then—nothing can be more allowable in "a Caſe fairly ſtated"—ſuppoſes intereſted motives; and unworthy views. "But" (ſays He, fol. 16.) "if it ſhall "come out in addition, that Colonel Stuart was Mr. Benfield's friend; *that Mr.* "*Ruſſell was to marry Lord Pigot's daughter*; that his Lordſhip refuſed to let the "former go as Commandant, if the latter was not permitted to go as Reſident, to "Tanjore; and that it was to carry this favourite point, He *overturned the conſti-* "*tution*, and *riſked* the very exiſtence, of the ſettlement—What concluſion will "a jury draw from ſuch a *ſtring* of circumſtances?" Truly I do not know.—But if it ſhould come out, that of this *ſtring* of circumſtances one only ſhould exiſt . . . What concluſion will the public draw? What opinion will the public form of the candor of this *fair ſtater of Caſes?* It will never come out, that Lord Pigot overturned the conſtitution; that Lord Pigot riſked the ſettlement—The honour of that atchievement is the excluſive property of the friends of this ſhrewd diſcoverer. And how came He to be ſo well acquainted with the domeſtic arrangements of Lord Pigot and of Mr. Ruſſell? How came He to know—what I am ſure He never learned from Lord Pigot, from his daughter, or from Mr. Ruſſell—that Mr. Ruſſell is to marry a daughter of Lord Pigot? Did the author of the Caſe draw the articles? Did He make, or witneſs the ſettlement? See now, how bit by bit this ſtring of circumſtances drops away! One only remains:—That Colonel Stuart is the friend of Mr. Benfield—and that I verily believe will come out:—that Mr. Benfield is the friend of Colonel Stuart, will, I verily believe too, come out *. I verily believe too, that reſpectable as this mutual friendſhip may be, the reader will think it a ſtrong reaſon, why Colonel Stuart ſhould not, in the preſent moment, have been ſent to Tanjore.

* I, perhaps, ought to ſay, *was*, inſtead of, *is*. If I be rightly informed this faſt friendſhip is diſſolved.

gentleman

gentleman ſtands high in the liſt of the Company's ſuperior ſervants. To calmneſs of temper, to politeneſs of manners, He unites acknowledged abilities, unimpeached integrity. He had before been employed, by the government of Fort St. George, in the country of Tanjore. He was therefore perfect maſter of the extent, ſituation, reſources, political intereſts of the country. —His conduct, under his former miſſion, had met with the fulleſt approbation. On the one hand, it had been rewarded by the unanimous thanks of the Board (*k*); On the other, it had introduced Him to the knowledge, inſured Him the eſteem, of the Rajah. A man better qualified for this delicate negociation could not, therefore, have been found.

Carried in the affirmative.

To the appointment of a Reſident ſome trifling objections were made. To Mr. Mackay the appointment appeared unneceſſary. It appeared unneceſſary to the Commander in Chief, He, like a good ſoldier, thinks all merit centered in the military. At the beginning, we may remember, He would have entruſted the reſtoration of the Rajah to the military officer commanding at Tanjore. And now again, to the military officer commanding at Tanjore, He thought it ſhould be left "to execute the duties propoſed for the Reſident." —One duty there was, which, even in his judgment, this military officer could not execute: like a good ſoldier He determines that duty ought not to be executed at all. The numbers, however, were equally divided. And, by the caſting voice of the Preſident, it was reſolved, that Mr. Ruſſell ſhould be appointed Reſident at Tanjore (*l*).

(*k*) See a letter from Governor Palk and Council to Mr. Ruſſell, dated 26th Feb. 1765. India Houſe.

(*l*) For the Queſtion.

		Againſt it.	
Meſſrs. Stone,	Dalrymple,	Meſſrs. Mackay,	Jourdan,
Ruſſell,	Dawſon,	Palmer,	Floyer,
Stratton,	The Preſident.	Brooke,	Fletcher.

The Governor-general has diſcovered "that this appointment paſt with *much oppoſition*:" that it was oppoſed "on the grounds of its being contrary to the Company's

At this momentary triumph of reaſon and government oppoſition was nothing diſmayed. They had reſources without number. An oppoſition barren of ſcruples is generally fertile in reſources. The only difficulty was which to chuſe. The plan adopted ſeems to have been to preſs the appointment of a military officer to command at Tanjore, who might counteract all the good effects to be expected from the appointment of a Reſident. That obtained, they were then to go on, and either appoint one of their own party to be Reſident; or to re-conſider, and totally reſcind, the appointment of a Reſident. The departure of Mr. Dawſon had deprived Lord Pigot of one honeſt man. That was ſomething. The orders of the Company had appointed Mr. Ruſſell to be of the Committee of Circuit; but the orders of the Company had likewiſe directed, that the Committee of Circuit ſhould not proceed till the affairs of Tanjore were *finally adjuſted*. But, in the hands of theſe gentlemen, the orders of the Company are only moveable barriers, which They can lower or heighten at will. In obedience to the orders of the Company, Mr. Ruſſell ſhould be of the Committee. In contradiction to theſe orders, They could haſten the departure of the Committee. At the worſt They might have recourſe to their uſual manœuvre. They could re-conſider, an reſcind.

Oppoſition determines to fruſtrate or revoke this appointment.

All the preparatory ſteps were taken for the execution of this plan; minutes entered to preſs the departure of the Committee of Circuit; meaſures taken to enſure the appointment of an officer to the Command at Tanjore, who, of all men in the ſervice of the Company, was the moſt unfit for the ſtation; of all men the moſt likely to defeat the healing meaſure of appointing a Reſident at Tanjore. And here a new actor appears upon the ſcene. His firſt entry was magnificent. He announces his Self as the ſupreme

Colonel Stuart claims the command at Tanjore.

"pany's orders." Neither of theſe diſcoveries are warranted by the minutes of the day. To the laſt objection—being contrary to the orders of the Company—the Governor-general does "not conceive it to be liable." See Papers, vol. ii. folio 291.

judge of the reſpective importance of the ſeveral poſts under the Preſidency of Fort St. George: He declares, in a tone of the moſt deciſive authority, Tanjore, "where the Company had ſo lately "acquired influence, to be, on *every account*, at this *criſis*, the moſt "important of any poſt under this Preſidency." Having thus decided on the importance of Tanjore, He dwells with peculiar dignity, though, no doubt, with a decent reluctance, on his own importance; informs the Board of what was due to his merit, and to his rank; and, not to be "*wanting to his Self*," He claims the moſt important poſt for the moſt important man; ſteps forth, like another Dares, lays his hand upon the prize; and tells the aſtoniſhed Council:

> Quæ finis ſtandi? Quo me decet uſque teneri?
> Ducere dona jube (*m*).

July 9. His claim conſidered.

Objections, no doubt, there were, to an acquieſcence with the Colonel's claim. Some aroſe from the manner of making the claim; ſome from the nature of the claim it ſelf, and the circum-

(*m*) See Colonel Stuart's Letter, Papers vol. i. fol. 301—303. And Mr. Dalrymple's Minute, ib. fol. 327—329. The Spectator, I think, obſerves, that a man never reads a book with ſo much pleaſure, as when he is acquainted with the character, and perſon, of the author. The reader, perhaps, may not be diſpleaſed at ſeeing the character of this gentleman, as drawn by the Vakeel of the Rajah, and ſent by Him in a letter to his Maſter. "The Colonel is a very proud man. When "He begins to ſpeak, He continues long without intermiſſion. He praiſes his Self "very much, and requires a great deal of attention." A ſhort extract, or two, from his conference with the Vakeel, as related in the ſame letter, may tend to throw light on the picture. "According to the *orders received from England*, I "am going, in a few days to take the command of Tanjore." . . . . . "It is "proper, when I arrive at Tanjore, that You pay a *proper reſpect to my character*, "that You pay a *proper attention to what I ſay*. . . . . The *King of England* has ap- "pointed me to the command of Tanjore: and let Lord Pigot be re-eſtabliſhed, let "Mr. Stratton be continued, or any other come to the government, You may "be ſure, that *my* command will be continued." . . . . . "I am a member of the "Council, I hold the command of the forces, I have the lead in the Conſultation "Room, and I hold the command of Tanjore." See this letter, India Houſe.

ſtances,

ſtances, under which the Colonel made it. As to the manner of making the claim, there are, to whom it might appear rather uncommon in an officer, ſpeaking to his ſuperiors, to decide ſo peremptorily upon the importance of a poſt; ſtill more uncommon to decide, that becauſe a place is of great *political importance*, it muſt therefore be an important military command: yet more uncommon to claim for his Self, as the moſt reſponſible man in the ſervice, what He deems the moſt reſponſible poſt. As to the claim it ſelf, and to the circumſtances, under which the Colonel made it, there are, who might object, that the Colonel, at the expreſs recommendation of the Commander in Chief, ſince the arrival of Lord Pigot at Madraſs, had been appointed to the command at Velore; that the garriſon of Velore was more numerous than that of Tanjore; that great part of the Colonel's own regiment was ſtationed at Velore; that Velore was a frontier place; that, on that ſide, if on any, muſt an invaſion of the Carnatic be expected, either from Hyder or the Morattoes; that Velore, would be, therefore, the proper ſtation for ſo *reſponſible* a perſon as Colonel Stuart; "particularly" if "armaments were coming"—and the Board "had intelligence that "armaments were coming—from France (*n*)." Theſe men might object, too, that, agreeably to the ſpirit of the military ſervice, it had been the duty of the Colonel, as ſoon as He was appointed to Velore, forthwith to proceed to that ſtation; that there only could the Board ſuppoſe Colonel Stuart to be found, thence only could the Board receive applications from Colonel Stuart, where the Board had appointed Colonel Stuart to command. To theſe men it might ſeem, that, the Rajah having particularly requeſted by his Vakeel, that Colonel Harpur might be continued in the command

(*n*) This intelligence came by a private letter from Pondicherry. "Where"—the letter ſays—"large quantities of military ſtores have been lately landed. It "is alleged that theſe are for Hyder Ally." See Papers, vol. i. fol. 228. This additional proof that Velore would be the poſt of danger, the reſponſible poſt, is gravely urged by Sir Robert as a reaſon, why it ſhould not be given to his reſponſible friend.

of Tanjore for the preſent (*o*); for the preſent, at leaſt, it would be improper to recall Him from the command; that, Mr. Benfield having controverted claims upon the Rajah, were Colonel Harpur to be recalled, it would be indecent, as well as impolitic, to appoint that man to ſucceed Him at Tanjore, who boaſted of his friendſhip with Mr. Benfield.

Colonel Stuart appointed to command at Tanjore.

That Colonel Stuart preferred the command of Tanjore to the command of Velore, was beyond a doubt. The reaſons were obvious, but not to be promulgated. For not one reaſon, for this preference, was aſſigned by the Colonel; not one by any of his friends—ſave only the intelligence of armaments from France (*p*) —which did not exiſt at the time of his appointment to Velore. But what then? A ſuppoſed change of circumſtances was ſufficient to annul the ſtanding orders of the Company; and ſhall not identity of circumſtances be reaſon ſufficient for revoking an appointment of their own? Colonel Stuart was appointed to command at Tanjore by a majority of ſeven to four (*q*).

July 2ᵈ. Motion to precipitate the de-

Colonel Stuart being appointed to the command at Tanjore, the next ſtep was to precipitate the departure of the Committee of Cir-

(*o*) "The Preſident then lays before the Board the following Extract of a Letter from the Rajah of Tanjore to his Vakeel."

"It is talked here that Colonel Stuart will be ſent to command in this place. "You will therefore tell his Lordſhip, that Colonel Harpur, who commands "at preſent, is acquainted with the nature of affairs here, in ſome degree. "Wherefore I think it will be better to continue Him in the Command for the "preſent, than to appoint any new man, or a ſtranger to this country." How came the Colonel's appointment to be known before hand?—Were the orders arrived from *England*?

(*p*) And this we have ſeen, was an additional reaſon for the appointment of, ſo reſponſible a man, as Colonel Stuart to Velore.

(*q*)

For the Queſtion.		Againſt it.	
Meſſrs. Mackay,	Palmer *,	Meſſrs. Stone,	Dalrymple,
Jourdan *,	Floyer *,	Ruſſell,	Preſident.
Brooke,	Fletcher,		
Stratton.			

* Theſe three ſeemed to bluſh at their own inconſiſtency.

cuit.

cuit. This would prevent Mr. Ruſſell from going to Tanjore. By the former motion, the moſt unfit man in the ſervice of the Company was inveſted with the military command at Tanjore: by the latter, the moſt fit man in the ſervice of the Company would be kept from diſcharging the function of Reſident at Tanjore. This motion was entruſted to Mr. Jourdan: who gave, what He calls, and what was, indeed, a "particular" minute on this ſubject. The ſubſtance of it is; that the Company had ordered the Committee of Circuit to proceed, as ſoon as the buſineſs of Tanjore ſhould *be finally ſettled:* that the Company had expected—ſo Mr. Jourdan had diſcovered, though the Company had not ſaid a ſingle ſyllable about it—Reſiſtance on the part of the Nabob: that neither had the Nabob reſiſted, nor was the buſineſs of Tanjore *finally adjuſted*; for, on the one hand, the Rajah was not yet reſtored to the full, and entire, poſſeſſion of his country, as He held it in 1762, for He was not yet reſtored to Hanamantagoody (*r*), and Arnee; nor, on the other, was it yet aſcertained what part the Rajah had received of the Circar ſhare of the crop, which had been adjudged to, and mortgaged by, the Nabob; nor as yet were the terms of payment adjuſted; that this, however,—though, to a common underſtanding, eſſential to the *final* ſettlement of the affairs of Tanjore—to the underſtanding of Mr. Jourdan appeared to be not "of much importance;" becauſe there could be "no "doubt" of the Nabob's conſenting to the ceſſion of that part of the country, to which the Rajah was not yet reſtored; and of this Mr. Jourdan was ſo confident, becauſe, I ſuppoſe, in a letter received but three days before, the Nabob perſiſted in calling the diſtricts in queſtion *his* country; perſiſted in retaining them. To ſum up the whole merit of this minute in two words. The grand argument is this:—The orders of the Court of Directors, that the Committee of Circuit ſhould *not* proceed till *after* the affairs of

parture of the Committee of Circuit.

(*r*) The very country to which the Governor-general ſuppoſes Him to have been reſtored *by force*.

Tanjore

Tanjore were finally ſettled, "*were very conſiſtent and judicious*;" it therefore is very conſiſtent very judicious in the Board, to command the Committee to proceed immediately, *before* the orders of the Company reſpecting Tanjore are accompliſhed; and whileſt ſo many material objects remain unadjuſted (*s*).

Logic like this what ſophiſt could elude! Such force of argument what underſtanding could reſiſt! Mr. Jourdan triumphed: his arguments carried conviction; perſuaſion dwelt upon his lips. The victory bordered on the miraculous. For here, ſurely, "the "weak things of the world were choſen to confound the mighty; "the fooliſh things of the world to confound the wiſe (*t*)."

July 30. The departure of Colonel Stuart, and of the Committee of Circuit, preſt.

Oppoſition felt its own ſtrength; and determined to exert it to the utmoſt. No time was loſt. Four days after the laſt motion was carried, Sir Robert Fletcher laid before the Board what He called *Inſtructions* (*u*) for Colonel Stuart. The appointment of the Colonel was directed to be given out in public orders: He was commanded to hold his Self in readineſs to proceed to Tanjore. The departure of the Committee of Circuit for the Northern Circars, was preſt with the greateſt vigor. In vain was it to urge, that the execution of this buſineſs would be a work of years; that the inveſtigation of the Jaghire lands was, at leaſt, of equal importance, and preſt, at leaſt, as much as the inveſtigation of the Northern Circars; that both were ordered in one and the ſame

(*s*) See this elaborate Minute at length, Papers, vol. ii. folio 360—362.

(*t*)

For the Queſtion.		Againſt it.	
Meſſrs. Mackay,	Jourdan,	Meſſrs. Stone,	Dalrymple,
Palmer,	Floyer,	Ruſſell,	Preſident.
Brooke,	Fletcher,		
Stratton.			

(*u*) I ſay, what *He called* inſtructions: for in ſuch haſte was the good General to diſpatch the buſineſs of his friend, that He delivered to the Board under the title of *Inſtructions*, a thing that He would gladly have diſowned, and did afterwards change.

paragraph

paragraph of one and the ſame letter; That the materials, neceſſary for the inveſtigation of the Jaghire lands, were already in a certain degree of forwardneſs; That this, therefore, would be the work only of a few months. In vain was it to urge, that the leaſe granted to the Nabob, was now expired; That He had made no application for renewing it; That the Jaghire was, therefore, by the orders of the Company, virtually under the charge of the Committee of Circuit; That, ſhould the Nabob apply for a renewal of his leaſe, the Board was reſtricted, by the expreſs orders of the Company, to grant only an annual leaſe; That before the expiration of the year, therefore, the Committee was bounden to explore, and inveſtigate, the ſtate of the Jaghire. In vain was it to urge, that complaints of the inhabitants of the Jaghire lands were voluminous, and called for inſtant examination and redreſs. In vain was it to urge, that, the Jaghire, being nearer the Preſidency, and the ſervice to be performed there being of ſhorter duration, fewer members would be required, more might remain at the Preſidency, or all could eaſily return to it, and aſſiſt the Preſident, if any emergency required it, in the reformation of domeſtic abuſes. In vain was it to urge, that, theſe abuſes were numerous, and demanded immediate reform. In vain was it to urge, that, on all theſe accounts, the Jaghire ought to be the firſt object of inveſtigation. Theſe reaſons were not of the ſame caſt with thoſe of Mr. Jourdan. Not adapted to the underſtandings, not adapted to the feelings; and above all, not adapted to the intereſts of the Majority. They were heard without attention, and, therefore urged without effect. The immediate departure of the Committee of Circuit for the Northern Circars was voted by a Majority of ſeven to four.

Violent proceedings of the Majority.

Emboldened by repeated ſucceſs, oppoſition now threw aſide the very ſemblance of order, of decency, of impartiality. One gentleman, whom the Council had but lately appointed to be Reſident at Tanjore (*x*); another, "whoſe extraordinary diligence

(*x*) Mr. Ruſſell.

"and

" and application his Lordſhip had but lately declared to be " eſſentially neceſſary to Him at Fort St. George (*y*)," were ſingled out by oppoſition; charged indirectly with declining their duty to the Company; and, in a moſt unprecedented manner, a peremptory day was given Them to proceed, upon the Circuit, to the Northern Circars (*z*).

Reaſons for them.

To fruſtrate the appointment of Mr. Ruſſel, to prevent his going as Reſident to Tanjore, was an object, which the Nabob purſued with uncommon ardor. A Reſident, whoſe integrity He could not hope to ſeduce, whoſe abilities He could not hope to over-reach, would be an inſurmountable bar to his plans of oppreſſing the Rajah, ſo long as He remained upon the throne; of forcing Him, if poſſible, to deſcend from it again. To the partiſans, therefore, of the Nabob, it was ſtrictly given in charge to oppoſe, by any means, this dreaded appointment. Nor was He, nor were his ſons inattentive, or negligent. Large offers had been made to Mr. Dawſon to induce Him to vote againſt the appointment; or, if that could not be, to abſtain from the Council when that queſtion was to be put. They were indefatigable " in their noc- " turnal viſits" to other members of the Board (*a*). To throw a ſlur upon the character of Mr. Dalrymple, to leave Him expoſed,

(*y*) Mr. Dalrymple. (*z*) See Papers, vol. ii. folio 397, 398.

(*a*) The oppoſition called for *proofs* of theſe viſits. What proof could they require? Sir Robert Fletcher had furniſhed the proofs. Hear is own words. " They"—ſpeaking of Members of the Board—" cannot ſhut their doors in the " faces of the Nabob and his ſons, when they *happen*, which *they ſometimes do, to* " *drop in on an evening, to viſit their families* †." To this Sir Robert might have added; that, in theſe evening viſits, the Nabob and his ſons, frequently came in *diſguiſe*: that theſe evening viſits were frequently protracted till the *morning*; that the converſation turned, as Engliſhmen are apt to turn it, on *politics*: that, India furniſhing no news-papers, the want of them was ſupplied by reading, for the amuſement of their gueſt, the *ſecret inſtructions* of the Company and the *Minutes of the Board*; by forming, for the advantage of their gueſt, plans of oppoſition to the meaſures of the Preſident.

† See Papers, vol. i, fol. 292.

at

at the departure of the Grenville, without time, without means for defence, to all the virulence of accuſation, with which the general had threatened Him; would be to diſtreſs a man, whom they could not love. Intimately acquainted with the rules and orders of the Company, and with the proceedings of the Council, He had too often expoſed the ignorance and the partiality of the members of oppoſition; too often had He excited a bluſh in cheeks not accuſtomed to bluſh. To deprive the Preſident of the aſſiſtance derived from his abilities, and the ſupport of his voice; to leave the Preſident at the mercy of a majority, who almoſt on every queſtion, voted together, who ſeldom came to the Board, but with minutes ready penned, but with a pre-determined reſolution to give the ſanction of public authority "to meaſures "hatched and matured in private Junto's (*b*)," was an advantage devoutly to be wiſhed. Immoveably obſtinate in this point, oppoſition would neither conſent to call, from the ſubordinate ſtations, the abſent members of the Council, to aid the Preſident with their advice, in a ſituation ſo emergent, where advice was not neceſſary, where the judgment of impartial men was ſo eſſential to the intereſts of the Company (*c*); where it was ſo proper for the Company to know whether the *actual majority* of the *whole* Board did, or did not, concur in opinion with the Preſident: nor would they liſten to any reaſon for poſtponing the departure of the obnoxious members of the Committee of Circuit. To Mr. Floyer it had been a ſufficient reaſon to grant time, that, when He offered his Self a candidate, He declared He was unqualified for the office. Mr. Jourdan had been totally excuſed, merely becauſe He did not *chuſe* to go: and Mr. Mackay becauſe the *good old man*, active as He was at the Board, felt that the cold wind of the North would benumb

(*b*) See Lord Pigot's Minute Papers, vol. ii. fol. 394—396. Mr. Jourdan's Minute was never communicated, as is the cuſtom, to the Preſident; was brought in abruptly; was delivered in writing; and *without being read, without any explanation given of its contents*, it was ſeconded by Mr. Mackay. See Narrative fol. 6.

(*c*) See Papers, vol. ii. fol. 387—401.

his activity. But to Mr. Dalrymple it was no excuſe, that He was not *yet* prepared for the inveſtigation of the Northern Circars (*d*): To Mr. Ruſſel it was no excuſe, that, in purſuance of the appointment of the Board, his baggage was gone to Tanjore. The day was fixed; prepared or not, it was determined They ſhould proceed. Little ſolicitous for their ſucceſs, the ſole object was to remove them from the Board. The Preſident had talked of *reforming abuſes*. As, on a former occaſion, the members of the Board, concerned in intrigues at the Durbar, had been adjudged the fitteſt perſons to prevent the dangers to be apprehended from thoſe intrigues: ſo the ſame members of the Board, concerned in the abuſes to be reformed, were now adjudged to be the fitteſt perſons to reform them.

Attempt of Lord Pigot to correct theſe violences.

The departure of Colonel Stuart was to go hand in hand with the departure of the Committee of Circuit. Both were urged with equal vehemence. The Preſident ſaw the motive and the drift of theſe violent proceedings; He ſaw the fatal effects that would reſult from their ſucceſs: He knew, from the Vakeel of the Rajah, with what induſtry reports had been propapagated at Tanjore, that his Lordſhip's influence in Council was entirely loſt; that He was ſpeedily to return to England: He knew the alarms, which theſe reports had ſpread at Tanjore: He knew, how much theſe alarms had been heightened by the unhandſome refuſal of continuing Colonel Harpur in his command: He knew, that the Rajah was driven to a ſtate little ſhort of deſperation, when He heard, that the officer appointed to ſucceed Him was known to be intimately connected with men, who had uniformly oppoſed every meaſure adopted by Lord Pigot for the good of Tanjore; was known to be intimately connected with men, whom the Rajah ſuſpected, at leaſt, of having been inſtrumental in bringing upon

(*d*) Apprehending that the Committee would begin by inveſtigating the Jaghire lands, to that object He had directed all his attention. For that He *was* prepared; and, therefore, to the Jaghire oppoſition determined He ſhould *not* be ſent.

Him,

Him, and upon his people, the accumulated miſeries, under which He and They had groaned for years; was confidently—though no doubt falſely—reported to have engaged for a pecuniary conſideration, to manage the concerns of theſe very men at Tanjore. His Lordſhip, therefore, felt the abſolute neceſſity of quieting the alarms of the Rajah, by ſending a perſon to reſide at Tanjore, in whom the Rajah could confide; who might convince Him, that the intentions of the Company in his favour could not be fruſtrated by any cabals of any ſet of men. He knew the man, whom He had recommended, to be, on all accounts, of all men, the fitteſt for this important and delicate employ (*e*). The part which the Nabob took in oppoſing it, convinced his Lordſhip, that things were now brought to a criſis; that the matter was put to this ſhort iſſue—ſhall the Nabob of Arcot, or the Governor appointed by the Company, preſide at the Board of Council?—Had Lord Pigot yielded, the Rajah of Tanjore might again have been dethroned; the authority of the Board, the authority of the Company, might again have been employed, as They formerly had been employed, to be the inſtruments of the ambition, of the revenge, of the Nabob. To reſiſt could not be ſo fatal. Succeſsful reſiſtance would re-eſtabliſh the dignity of Government, would inſure the full completion of the ſchemes of the Company, would firmly eſtabliſh the Throne of the Rajah. Even an unſucceſsful reſiſtance would have its advantages. It would prop, for a while, that part of the ſchemes of the Company, which was already executed; if it could not firmly eſtabliſh the throne of the Rajah, it would, at leaſt, ſuſpend its ſubverſion. True, therefore, to the promiſe He had made the Company—"that He would go on as He had begun, "ſtrongly recommending every meaſure, that appeared to Him to "be proper; and reſolutely maintaining, that nothing ſhould be "done, which, in his opinion, might involve the affairs of his "employers in difficulty (*f*)"—He ſteadily and firmly refuſed to

(*e*) See Narrative, fol. 6, 7.

(*f*) See his Lordſhip's Letter, Papers, vol. i. fol. 275.

give his conſent to the departure of Colonel Stuart as Commandant at Tanjore, till Mr. Ruſſell ſhould have received his inſtructions, as Reſident at Tanjore.

Iſſue of this attempt.

The obſtinacy of oppoſition was equal to the firmneſs of Lord Pigot. Leſs delicate in the choice of means, not ſtrictly bounden by the reſtraints of decorum and order, avowing their Selves free from any obedience to the orders of the Company, where thoſe orders did not ſuit their times, and their circumſtances, oppoſition —and no wonder—prevailed. Their conqueſt, indeed, was purchaſed at the expence of decency, of ſubordination, of duty; but theſe They had long deſpiſed: it was purchaſed at the hazard of every intereſt that was dear to their Maſters; but theſe They had long ſubmitted to their own private views. The Temple of Government was rent in twain from the top to the bottom: but They were ſatisfied, if with the broken materials, they could form a temporary houſe for faction.

SECTION

SECTION III.

Conduct of Lord Pigot in his Disputes with the Nabob and with the Members of the Council.

Recapitulation of the last sections.

IN reviewing the orders, with the execution of which the Council and all the Servants of the Company at Fort St. George, were commanded to concur with Lord Pigot; in the carrying of which into full effect the governor and Council at Bengal were commanded, if required, to co-operate; we obſerved, that the great object, which the Company propoſed, was to return to that ſyſtem, for the government of their affairs on the Coaſt of Coromandel, which Lord Pigot had eſtabliſhed in the year 1762. To effectuate this important object, it was neceſſary to withdraw Tanjore from the hands of the Nabob. Lord Pigot, therefore, We have ſeen, was directed forthwith to reſtore the Kingdom of Tanjore, with all its dependencies, to its ancient and rightful poſſeſſor; ſubject only to the annual tribute ſtipulated; in the treaty of 1762, to be paid by the Rajah to the Nabob, and to the performance of certain other terms and conditions, calculated for the mutual benefit of the Rajah, and of the Eaſt India Company. What thoſe terms and conditions were we have ſeen. After the reſtoration of Tanjore ſhould be effected; after the affairs of Tanjore ſhould be accommodated, and *finally* adjuſted; then, and not before, We have ſeen, Lord Pigot and his Council were directed to diſpatch a Committee of Circuit, for the inveſtigation of the Jaghire lands, and of the Northern Circars. Hitherto our examination has been confined to the meaſures adopted by Lord Pigot, for reſtoring Tanjore to the Rajah, and for ſettling the country, in purſuance of theſe orders. Through the whole courſe of this examination, We have ſeen Him keep ſteadily in view the great end propoſed by the Company. We have ſeen the difficulties he had to encounter in the execution of theſe orders. He ſet

out,

out, We have ſeen, by endeavouring to engage the Nabob to concur in the execution of them; to make the act of the reſtoration appear, as it were, his own. Diſappointed in this view, we have ſeen Him gradually proceeding in the buſineſs of the Reſtoration. We have ſeen Him accept with demonſtrations of reſpect, and gratitude, the ſurrender of the Fort of Tanjore to an officer of the Company; but, at the ſame time, anxious to guard againſt any future claims on the part of the Nabob, claims which by his inſtructions He was not to admit, We have ſeen Him refuſe, in firm but decent terms, to receive the ſurrender of the Fort under *any conditions*. We have ſeen Him perſiſt in ſhewing every mark of attention to the intereſts of the Nabob, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the orders of the Company: We have ſeen Him reject the violent meaſures, propoſed by the very men, who now accuſe his Lordſhip of violence. Having ſecured the Fort of Tanjore, having delivered the Rajah and his family from their unjuſt confinement, We have ſeen Him cheriſh, perhaps too long, the flattering hope, that the Nabob might, at length, be perſuaded to concur in the execution of that part of his orders, which commanded Him to put the Rajah in the full poſſeſſion, and management of his dominions: We have ſeen Him, therefore, giving time to the Nabob to return to a proper ſtate of mind; deferring the execution of this part of his orders, till by the Board it was unanimouſly reſolved to be *proper and neceſſary*, that his Lordſhip ſhould *immediately* ſet out for Tanjore to carry them into full effect. Arrived at Tanjore, We have ſeen Him obtain from the Rajah, all that the Company had demanded; more than the Company had demanded; conditions unanimouſly approved by the Board at the time; conditions unanimouſly approved; "with *grateful thanks accepted*" by his Employers ſince. We have ſeen Him cautiouſly avoid all farther interference in the affairs of the Rajah's Government: On this principle, We have ſeen Him refuſe all interpoſition, at Tanjore, on the ſubject of the unvouched claims of Mr. Benfield (*g*):

(*g*) An accompt without a voucher is no accompt.

We

We have ſeen Him, afterwards, in Council, ſteadily oppoſe thoſe demands, not only becauſe they *were* unvouched, and appeared to be unjuſt; but becauſe they were contrary to the orders of the Company; becauſe, if admitted, they would defeat the good effects propoſed by the Company from the Reſtoration; "leave the Rajah a heavy incumbrance on the Company;" "give "an opening for new machinations;" "give riſe to much confu- "ſion and danger." We have ſeen Him reſolutely aſſerting the validity of the ſtanding orders of the Company; ſtrenuouſly endeavouring to put a ſtop to all illicit correſpondence between the ſervants of the Company and the Princes of the Eaſt; exerting all his power to prevent the ſervants of the Company from ſupporting the Nabob in meaſures, prejudicial to the intereſts of the Company. We have ſeen Him, at the ſame time, ſo attentive to the honour, ſo tender of the feelings, of the Nabob (*h*), that He would not, forcibly, expel the people of the Nabob from diſtricts, which, according to the literal orders of the Company, ought to have been immediately reſtored to the Rajah. We have ſeen Him ſtrenuouſly endeavouring to remove every occaſion of giving diſguſt, or exciting diſcontent to the Nabob, by recommending it to Him to return to his own Capital. We have ſeen Him endeavouring to derive to the Company new commercial advantages, by multiplying their inveſtments, and by the eſtabliſhment of new factories. Diſappointed in this endeavour, undiſguſted by the petulance of oppoſition, unwearied by the ſtubbornneſs of faction. We have ſeen Him labour to ſecure, at leaſt, the political advantages held forth by the reſtoration of the Rajah. We have ſeen Him not more ſolicitous to execute the commands of the Company; than anxious to execute them in the order, and in the manner which they thought moſt likely to be effectual: We have ſeen Him, therefore, refuſe his conſent to the departure of the Committee of Circuit, till the buſineſs of Tanjore was finally adjuſted. We have ſeen Him, at

(*h*) And that at the very time the Nabob was caballing againſt Him.

laſt,

laſt, riſk his government, his liberty, his life, to give permanence and ſtability to that ſyſtem which He was ordered to re-eſtabliſh. While that ſyſtem was preſerved; it had been uniformly recommended to his predeceſſors, now that ſyſtem was to be reſtored, it was ſtrictly enjoined, and warmly recommended to Him, to impreſs the Rajah of Tanjore with firm ideas of dependence on the friendſhip of the Engliſh. Here then We have ſeen Him make his laſt great ſtand: We have ſeen Him urging in vain that an officer, known to the Rajah, agreeable to the Rajah, ſhould, at the requeſt of the Rajah, be continued in the command of the Fortreſs which commanded the Capital of the Rajah: We have ſeen Him oppoſe the nomination of an officer to this delicate command, whoſe character, and whoſe connections, whether juſtly or not, had rendered Him ſuſpicious to the Rajah: Unable to conquer the obſtinacy of faction, We have ſeen Him endeavour to correct the evils which He could not totally prevent: We have ſeen Him alternately exhorting and intreating the men who were commanded to concur with Him, to ratify their own act; and to execute their own reſolution; to ſuffer the Reſident, whom They had appointed, to proceed, though but for a few days, to Tanjore; that He might quiet the alarms of the Rajah; might diſſipate the fears, which the intrigues of the Nabob, his reſidence in the neighbourhood, and his influence at the Board, of the Council, had excited in the breaſt of the Rajah. Thus far to ſay He is acquitted of any breach of orders, would be to do injuſtice to his Lordſhip: thus far his Lordſhip has a claim, not to the cold compliment of exculpation, but to the warmeſt teſtimony of applauſe.

Charges alleged againſt Lord Pigot by the Nabob and the Council.

But, we are told, whatever merit his Lordſhip might claim, from his attention to this part of the Company's orders, is more than effaced by his demerit with reſpect to the Nabob, and to the members of the Council of Fort St. George. He ſtands accuſed of deſigns the moſt arbitrary; meaſures the moſt inſidious; actions the moſt violent. His miſconduct, if his accuſers are to be believed, cannot

cannot be be excuſed or palliated; cannot be imputed to any motives but thoſe of the moſt ſelfiſh and unworthy Kind. To the Nabob, We are told, his conduct was violent, and *hoſtile*; to a noted individual cruel and inhuman; to the Council, inſidious and arbitrary.

Appeal of the Nabob to the government of Bengal.

The Nabob, at leaſt, pretends to have been alarmed at violences which He pretends to have actually experienced; theſe alarms, He ſays, were heightened by the apprehenſion of ſtill greater violences, with which He pretends to have been threatened by his Lordſhip. Deſpairing of protection from the Commander of his Majeſty's fleet; deſpairing of protection from the Council of Fort St. George, he "made a formal appeal to the Government of Bengal, againſt "theſe violent and *hoſtile* acts of Lord Pigot (*i*)." Nor could this appeal have been lodged in more friendly hands. He looked only, we may ſuppoſe, for the cool impartiality of a Judge, but He found all the zealous warmth of an Advocate. And that zeal too was directed by the unerring hand of the Logician. Such is the praiſe which we owe to Mr. Haſtings. By Him, therefore, we may expect to ſee the charges, which the Nabob has brought againſt Lord Pigot, placed in the cleareſt and the ſtrongeſt point of view. Nor will our expectations be deceived. "For the clearer underſtanding "of the Nabob's complaints," his Honour "extracted them from "the ſeveral letters which He (the Nabob) had written to the "Board, and formed them into nine diſtinct articles." Upon each of theſe articles He gave a very elaborate opinion (*k*).

Articles of complaint from the

Of theſe nine articles four have been already conſidered (*l*). The five, which remain to be conſidered, we will give in the very words

(*i*) See Papers, vol. ii. fol. 179.

(*k*) See Papers, vol. ii. fol. 277—291, and the following pages.

(*l*) The ſecond, third, ſeventh, eighth. The ſecond is founded on the promiſe ſaid to be made by Lord Pigot at a *private conference* with the Nabob, but which is directly contradicted by his Lordſhip's *public* Letters to the Nabob, entered on the Minutes. Private conferences are almoſt as uſeful as manuſcripts in the hands

Nabob, as ſtated by the Governor-general.

of this impartial Preſident. If We examine his Minutes, which were re-echoed in the letter from the Board, it ſhall be with all becoming deference.

Article Iſt. "That an Engliſh officer, at the head of ſixty "troopers and a party of Seapoys, by Lord Pigot's orders, en-"tered the town of Arrialoor, belonging to the Government of "the Carnatic; ſurrounded the houſe occupied by Narroo Pundit "Dobbeer a principal *ſervant* of the *Nabob*, and by other ſervants "of the Nabob; forced away the Seapoys whom He had ſtationed "with them as a guard; ſeized and carried *them* priſoners, with all "the *Nabob's* papers, which were in their charge, public and pri-"vate, to Tanjore, to Lord Pigot."

Art. IVth. "That Lord Pigot cauſed a proclamation to be made "in the Fort, and through all the diſtricts of Tanjore, that no one "ſhould give protection or rice to any of the Nabob's people, but "bring them forth; and even that if any perſon gave ſhelter to "any of the Nabob's ſervants, He ſhould be conſidered as cri-"minal."

Art. Vth. "That the moſt *creditable and ancient* ſervants of the "Nabob, who were at Tanjore, were treated with great indig-"nities by the dependents of Lord Pigot, and ſome of them de-"tained in priſon by the Rajah, even ſo late as the month of "May laſt."

Art. VIth. "That Lord Pigot ſent people at midnight to ſeize "and carry away ſome of the Nabob's Reiats from the door of his "houſe."

of the Nabob. The third was anſwered when we conſidered the claims of Mr. Paul Benfield. The ſeventh and eighth have been particularly noticed in the laſt ſection.

Art.

Art. IXth. "That a party of Seapoys forcibly entered the Kella "of Woodiarpollam belonging to the Nabob, with orders from "Lord Pigot to ſeize Mohammed Hebraz Khan, a principal ſer- "vant of the Nabob; but that, miſſing Him, they ſearched all "the houſes, and carried away and ill-treated, many of the in- "habitants."

Article Ist. Eſcorting the Dobbeer from Arri-alloor.

Of the firſt Article the Nabob complains as of an act "unbe- "coming even towards an enemy; a degradation of his character "in the eyes of the world; a *hoſtile* invaſion of his country; a vio- "lation of friendſhip and faith; derogatory from the honour of "the Company; contrary to the *guaranty*, by which the *Engliſh* "*nation* is bound to Him; irreconcileable with his right as an "*ally* to the *King of Great Britain*; and productive of diſtruſt in "his ſubjects, and anarchy in his Government."

Repreſented by Mr. Haſtings as a breach of the treaty of Paris, and of an act of Parliament.

And ſo well founded did theſe complaints appear to the Gover- nor-general and Council of Bengal, that They pronounced it "to be a violation of the independent rights of the Nabob of the "Carnatic, in which light (they ſay) Mahommed Ally Khan is "acknowledged by the treaty of Paris (*m*)." They think it *clearly proved*, that, "in this inſtance, the conduct of Lord Pigot "was contrary to the act of Parliament, which renders it unlaw- "ful to the Preſident and Council of Madraſs, to make any orders "for commencing hoſtilities againſt any Indian Prince or power, "without the conſent of the Governor-general and Council firſt "had and obtained; except in ſuch caſes as would render it dan- "gerous to poſtpone ſuch hoſtilities, &c.; and except in ſuch caſes "where the ſaid Preſident and Council ſhall have received *ſpecial* "orders from the United Eaſt India Company (*n*).

(*m*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 225.
(*n*) See ibid. vol. i. folio 281.

It is no more contrary to the treaty of Paris than to any other treaty.

The firſt ground, then, upon which theſe cautious ſtateſmen condemn this tranſaction, is, that it is contrary to the treaty of Paris. And contrary to the treaty of Paris it muſt be; becauſe it is a violation of the *independent rights* of the Nabob of the Carnatic; and in that light—that is in the light of an independent Prince, Mohammed Ally is *acknowledged by that treaty*. Again this treaty of Paris! What will not this prolific treaty produce! What may it not be adduced to prove! It is like the will in the hands of Lord Peter. It orders fringes, and laces, and ſhoulder-knots, and broom-ſticks. In the hands of the Nabob and of his agent, it worked miracles. It ſaid to whole countries: "remove "ye hence, to yonder place, and they removed." Tanjore became a part of the Carnatic; and was guarantied to the Nabob. In the hands of Mr. Haſtings and his Council, its operations are not quite ſo miraculous. It does not meddle with your ſolid bodies. The country of Tanjore is left in its old ſituation. But then it works wonders in the Rank and the Condition of thoſe whom it names. The Nabob, but a day before was a dependent on a dependent of the King of Delhi; and now behold! in virtue of a ſcrap of paper ſigned at Paris by men who ſcarcely knew his name, or his country, or his connections, He is become a Sovereign, *a Prince with independent rights*. This treaty, We have ſeen, acknowledges Mohammed Ally to be lawful Nabob of the Carnatic: it acknowledges another man to be lawful Subah of the Decan. This lawful Nabob, this lawful Subah—"Ce Nabob, ce Subah *legitimes*"—what are They? What are They here acknowledged to be? *Officers* of a certain denomination, veſted with certain powers, conveyed to them by the laws of a certain country, confirmed by certain formalities, required by the laws of that country. Each of theſe officers the treaty acknowledges to be appointed to their reſpective offices, in the manner preſcribed by the laws of Indoſtan; each of them it acknowledges to be veſted with that portion of authority, which the laws of Indoſtan have reſpectively attached to each. So far then from

from acknowledging the *independent* rights of the Nabob, it acknowledges Him to be, what by the laws of Indoſtan He is, a dependent on a dependent of the King of Delhi. This, in truth, is the effect of the recognition, if the words are to be taken in their plain and literal ſenſe. But to own an honeſt truth, the makers of this treaty, knew little, if any thing, about the Nabob, or about the Subah; about the Carnatic or about the Decan: They meant only to ſay, that their reſpective courts would not interfere about the rights of either. I forgive moſt cordially to one Agent of the Nabob his miſapplication of this treaty: I do juſtice to the diſcernment of the other, who prides his Self on diſcovering, in this treaty, the recognition, the guaranty, of the Nabob's independence (*o*). To theſe men why ſhould we talk of our rules, of European rules, of interpretation? With the ludicrous gravity of the "Medicin malgré lui" They would anſwer,—"Ah! mais, aux Indes, nous "avons changé tout cela!" But from Europeans, from ſervants of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, we have a right to expect a little more correctneſs, a little more conformity to eſtabliſhed rules. Were it even true, that this tranſaction were equivalent to a declaration of war, were an act of avowed hoſtility, ſtill Mr. Haſtings muſt have known, that it was no more a violation of the treaty of Paris, than it was a violation of the treaty of Oliva, or of the treaty of Peterſburgh, or of the treaty of Belgrade.

Nor was it any violation of the act of Parliament.

The treaty of Paris then remains unviolated. The Governor-general may ſleep ſecure. Be it that armaments are coming from France; ſtill the Governor-general may ſleep ſecure; they are not equipped to vindicate the violated rights of the *independent* Nabob of the Carnatic. But there is another ground on which, as dutiful ſubjects, the Governor-general and Council were forced to condemn this tranſaction. They think it clearly proved that it is a breach of the act for regulating the affairs of the Eaſt

(*o*) See Mr. Macpherſon's Memorial, Appendix.

India.

India Company. Perhaps it might; perhaps it was a commencement of hoſtilities—without the conſent of the Governor-general and Council of Fort William—unauthoriſed either by imminent neceſſity, or by the ſpecial orders of the Company. For all theſe circumſtances muſt concur, before the proviſions of the act can be infringed. Was it an act of *hoſtility?* Was it an act of hoſtility committed by the *order* of Lord Pigot? Both theſe queſtions muſt, I conceive, be anſwered in the negative.—It was not an act of hoſtility: It was not committed by order of Lord Pigot.

It was not an act of hoſtility.

To ſwell this into an act of hoſtility; to make it appear to be an act of hoſtility, committed by the expreſs orders of Lord Pigot; the Nabob, in his complaint, and the worthy Preſident of Bengal with his obſequious Council, in their Minutes—without deſign, no doubt, and imperceptibly—foiſted in many little circumſtances: many material circumſtances—without deſign, no doubt, and imperceptibly—they omitted. The truth of the caſe was this. Lord Pigot detached a party from Tanjore, with orders to proceed to Vickarum—a place in the *Tanjore* country—for the purpoſe of eſcorting the Dobbeer thence, from Vickarum, to Tanjore. But a circumſtance had happened with which Lord Pigot was unacquainted. By the expreſs orders of the Nabob, the Dobbeer had been removed from the Tanjore country to Arrialoor, a place dependent on the Kellidar of Tritchinopoly (*p*). The officer who commanded the party, conceiving that He was ſent to protect, to do honour to, the Dobbeer, marched to Arrialoor; and with the

(*p*) The Governor-general calls it—"a place belonging to the Government of "the *Carnatic.*"—The Council in their reſolutions, are more *cautious*; They call it—"a place in the Nabob's Dominions."—Now the Nabob—by what right we have ſeen in the Introduction—is Kellidar of Tritchinopoly. A place, therefore, dependent on Tritchinopoly, is a part of the Nabob's dominions; as a place dependent on Hanover, is a part of his Majeſty's dominions. But it no more follows, that Arrialoor belongs to the Government of the Carnatic, than that Hanover belongs to the Government of England, becauſe the King of England happens to be Elector of Hanover.

free

free will, at the requeſt, of the Dobbeer, from Arrialoor He eſcorted Him to Tanjore.

For the Dobbeer was neither a ſervant nor ſubject of the Nabob.

Who, then, was this Dobbeer? Was He, as the Nabob ſtates Him, as the Governor and Council of Bengal affect to believe Him to have been, a ſubject, or a ſervant, of the Nabob? No. He was a native of Tanjore, a ſubject of Tanjore, a public officer, an officer of the revenue, of Tanjore. Many years had He been in the ſervice of the Rajah of Tanjore. He had been no longer in the ſervice of the Nabob, than from the time that the Nabob had uſurped the country of Tanjore. Nor then did He ſo much enter into the ſervice of the Nabob, as ſtay in the ſervice of his country. He ſcorned to deſert his Maſter in his diſtreſs: He refuſed to act under the Nabob till his Maſter, out of love to ſubjects, whom He was no longer to protect, laid his commands upon Him to act (*q*). He was not, therefore, as it is ſtated, a principal *ſervant* of the *Nabob*: He was the principal *financier* of the *country* of *Tanjore*.

Nor was any force employed.

But did the officer, detached by Lord Pigot, *ſeize* and carry the Dobbeer a *priſoner* from Arrialoor to Tanjore? The orders of Lord Pigot were delivered in writing to Captain Tonyn, the officer who commanded the detachment. By Captain Tonyn they were produced to the ſelf-created Council at Madraſs (*r*). Not a word is ſaid, in theſe orders, about *ſeizing* the Dobbeer, about bringing the Dobbeer a *priſoner*. Captain Tonyn is ſimply commanded to *eſcort* Him to Tanjore. To *eſcort*, indeed, the ingeniouſneſs of Mr.

(*q*) It appears to Mr. Haſtings "a ſtrange inconſiſtency, that a man ſhould be "*compelled* to accept the moſt reſponſible and lucrative truſt in the country."—Mr. Haſtings beſt knows his own feelings; his own meaſure of duty. Were—which Heaven forefend!—a foreign Prince to uſurp the throne of theſe kingdoms, nothing *ſhort* of compulſion could tempt me to take any truſt, however reſponſible or lucrative, under the uſurper.

(*r*) See the printed Minutes of his examination, Sep. 11, 1776. Lord Pigot was *not preſent* when this witneſs was examined *againſt* Him. Nor did this impartial Council think it neceſſary to ſend Him a copy of the examination.

Haſtings

Haſtings has diſcovered to be the ſame, as "to *arreſt* by a military "force:" "to bring by force (*s*)." Lord Pigot did not underſtand the word in that ſenſe; in that ſenſe Captain Tonyn did not underſtand it. Being expreſsly aſked, whether, "in caſe the Dobbeer had eloped, He ſhould then, by the orders He had received, "have compelled the Dobbeer to go with Him to Tanjore:" As expreſsly He anſwered, "*He ſhould not* (*t*)." But did He uſe any force? He could not: for He declares, that He met with no oppoſition. Did He force away the Seapoys, whom the Nabob had ſtationed as a guard around the houſe of the Dobbeer? He did not ſee a ſingle Seapoy or Centinel: not a man in a military dreſs: not a man in arms: and yet, if any there had been, He muſt have ſeen them, for He arrived about the middle of the day. Was it neceſſary to uſe compulſion to engage the Dobbeer to go with Him? So far from it, the Dobbeer expreſt *great ſatisfaction* at receiving the letter; *before* Captain Tonyn could ſay a ſyllable on the ſubject, He propoſed to ſet out *immediately*. It was at the requeſt of Captain Tonyn, it was to give time to refreſh his men and his horſes, that the Dobbeer deferred his departure till the morning. Did this officer ſeize, or was He commanded to ſeize, the papers of the Nabob? Not a word did the orders of his Lordſhip contain, not one word did Captain Tonyn ſay to the Dobbeer, about Papers or Cadjans, or any thing elſe. Did Captain Tonyn carry, was He ordered to carry, any other ſervant of the Nabob to Tanjore? No other perſon is mentioned in his Lordſhip's order. No other perſon did Captain Tonyn carry with Him. One other perſon ac-

(*s*) Mr. Haſtings does not ſhine ſo much as a ſoldier, as a politician. How the officers of the Guards, how General Burgoyne would be ſurpriſed, if they were told, that they every day "*arreſted his Majeſty* by a military force:" "brought "his Majeſty by force from Kew to St. James's!"—Mr. Haſtings, I hope, will make his military code an humble Appendix to the Code Diplomatique of the Agent of the Nabob.

(*t*) The Council did not like his anſwer. They, therefore, *eraſed the queſtion and the anſwer from the Minutes*. Why ſhould the ingenious interpretation of Mr. Haſtings be refuted? And yet they dare to complain of the falſification of the minutes.

companied

companied the Dobbeer, whom He ſuppoſed to be one of the people of the Dobbeer. Where now is the act of hoſtility?

If it were an act of hoſtility, it was not committed by *order* of Lord Pigot.

But had it been an act of hoſtility, it was not committed by order of Lord Pigot. The hoſtility would ariſe, not from the act itſelf, of ſeizing the Dobbeer, ſuppoſing He had been ſeized—for the Dobbeer was neither a ſervant, nor a ſubject of the Nabob—but from the ſeizing Him in a place within the dominions of the Nabob. Now the orders of Lord Pigot were, to proceed—not to Arrialoor, within the dominions of the Nabob, but —to Vickarum, a part of the dominions of the Rajah. The Dobbeer had quitted Vickarum. Without any order, inſtruction, or meſſage, written or verbal, before or after his departure from Tanjore, did Captain Tonyn proceed from Vickarum to Arrialoor: He wrote, indeed, to his Lordſhip from Vickarum; He wrote, not to aſk his commands whether He ſhould proceed, but, to inform Him that He was actually proceeding to Arrialoor. He neither expected, nor had, nor could have an anſwer. "Upon the whole, "then," what muſt be the candor, of what materials muſt be formed the underſtanding, of that man, who can "think it clearly "proved, that, in this inſtance, the conduct of Lord Pigot was "contrary to the act of Parliament?"

And would be within the caſes excepted by the act.

Here, I am confident, Lord Pigot and his friends might ſafely reſt his defence againſt this accuſation. But I will venture to go one ſtep farther. I will venture to maintain, that had it been an act of hoſtility, which it was not; had it been committed by the expreſs orders of Lord Pigot, which neither was it; ſtill it would have been no violation of the act of Parliament. Moſt clearly it was within the exceptions of the act: moſt clearly it was an act, "which it would have been dangerous to poſtpone." The Dobbeer, We have obſerved, was the chief Financier of Tanjore. Without Him it was impoſſible to adjuſt the accompts of Tanjore. He was a man of a very advanced age (*u*). By force, and by the expreſs

(*u*) Between ſeventy and eighty.

orders of the Nabob, He had been carried from Tanjore. The Company had recommended it to Lord Pigot and his Council, to obtain a ſtatement of the Nabob's receipts and diſburſements in the Tanjore country. The claims ſet up by the Nabob and his aſſignees had rendered this ſtatement a matter of preſſing and "imminent neceſſity;" "which it would be dangerous to poſtpone." The only means of obtaining this ſtatement was to bring back to Tanjore the man, without whom this ſtatement could not be obtained. Nor in bringing back the Dobbeer could his Lordſhip be ſaid to *commence*, at moſt He could only be ſaid to *repell*, hoſtilities: if hoſtilities there were, hoſtilities were commenced by the Nabob. They were commenced then, when He ordered a native of Tanjore, a ſubject of Tanjore, the Prime Miniſter of Tanjore, to be carried by force, from his own country, to a country dependent on the Kellidar of Tritchinopoly. They were continued then when the Seapoys of the Nabob were ſtationed—if, indeed, as the Nabob pretends, He did order Seapoys to be ſtationed—as a guard to keep this Prime Miniſter of Tanjore a priſoner (*x*) in Arrialoor. Let us ſuppoſe the tranſaction to have paſſed in Europe. Had it pleaſed the Emperor of Germany, after the treaty of Hubertſbourg, to have forced the Count Fincktenſtein, or the Count Bruhl, into the territories of Auſtria, or Bohemia; to keep them priſoners; to place guards about them for the purpoſe of preventing their eſcape: by this act would not the Emperor have *commenced hoſtilities?* Had the Court of Berlin, had the Court of Dreſden, ſent detachments to reſcue their reſpective Miniſters, to eſcort them to their reſpective homes, would this act, even though accompanied by a direct attack on the Guards of the Emperor, have been a *commencement*, or only a *repulſion*, of hoſtilities?

Summary of defence on this article.

Upon this article, therefore, the complaint of the Nabob; the opinion of Mr. Haſtings; the reſolution of his obſequious Council;

(*x*) This guard, though, perhaps, placed under *pretence* of doing honour to the ſtation of the Dobbeer, may fairly be conſidered as intended to keep Him a priſoner: ſince it was *againſt* his will that He came to, againſt his will that He ſtaid at, Arrialoor.

appear

appear to conſiſt only of falſe concluſions, drawn from aſſumed facts. It is not true, that the officer detached by Lord Pigot, as an eſcort to the Dobbeer, was commanded to proceed into the country of the Nabob: it is not true, that He was commanded to bring, or that He did bring, the Dobbeer, by *force*, and as a *priſoner*, from Arrialoor to Tanjore; it is not true, that He was commanded to carry away, that He did carry away, any ſervant whatever of the Nabob: it is not true, that He was commanded to ſeize, or that He did ſeize, any papers, public or private, belonging to the Nabob; it is not true, that He was commanded to force, or that He did force, the Guards of the Nabob to retire. But, had He been commanded to do, had He done, all this, ſtill, neither He nor Lord Pigot would thereby have infringed the treaty of Paris: becauſe the treaty of Paris does not recognize the Nabob to be an independent Prince; it recognizes Him only for a ſervant of the ſervant of the King of Delhi: as a ſervant of the ſervant of the King of Delhi, he had no right to the poſſeſſion of Tanjore; or to carry away, and to confine the officers of the King of Tanjore. Had this officer, in conſequence of expreſs orders from Lord Pigot, ſeized, and by force carried to Tanjore the perſon, and the official papers, of the Dobbeer: had He forced the Seapoys ſtationed—if any ſuch were ſtationed—by the Nabob, as a Guard upon the Dobbeer, to retire; ſtill, neither He nor Lord Pigot would thereby have infringed the act of Parliament to which Mr. Haſtings alludes; becauſe the conduct of him who gave, and of him who executed, the order would have been juſtified "by imminent neceſſity;" the preſence of the Dobbeer being, in fact, neceſſary to aſcertain the claims of the Rajah to that part of his dominions, which the Nabob diſputed, and therefore neceſſary to effect his reſtoration to them: becauſe to give, or to execute, this order, would have been no *commencement* of hoſtilities, on the part of the Engliſh, but only a *repulſion* of hoſtilities already commenced, on the part of the Nabob.

Article III. Proclamation, forbidding all assistance to the people of the Nabob.

The next charge, which remains to be answered, is, "that "Lord Pigot caused a proclamation to be made in the fort, and "through all the districts, of Tanjore, that no one should give "protection, or rice, to any of the Nabob's people, but bring "them forth; and even that, if any person gave shelter to any of "the Nabob's servants, He should be considered as criminal."

No such proclamation was issued.

In the Bengal Consultations no notice is taken of this article. No resolution is formed upon it. The Governor-general had, I suppose, his view in multiplying charges. But here, He felt the deficiency of proof. "The charge," He observes, "is extracted "from a letter from the Nabob to Lord Pigot, dated 29th April, "and entered in the Consultation 13th May." The complaint is, indeed, extracted from that letter; but with *a very material alteration*. The Nabob says simply—"*proclamation was made* (*y*)"—But He does not say, that the proclamation was made in the Name, or by the order, of Lord Pigot: He does not say, that—"Lord Pigot *caused* the proclamation to be made." By what authority, then, has Mr. Hastings presumed to add these essential words to the complaint of the Nabob? Lord Pigot issued no proclamation at Tanjore. That style He has left to Mr. Stratton and his adherents. He gave out public orders. *All* these orders were, either reported to the Board, in his Lordship's Diary; or read at the Board, during the agitation of some or other of the many questions, debated at the Board. No such order was found as that extracted from the letter of the Nabob, said to be contained in a proclamation said to be made, but which the Nabob—more modest, or more timid than Mr. Hastings—did not presume to say, was made by the order, or in the name, or with the consent of Lord Pigot. Judge then of the Candour of Mr. Hastings. "It will "rest with the Board" (says He) "to determine, whether They "will take up the charge, or consider it as not *yet* properly before

(*y*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 144.

"Them,

"Them, *for want of proof*;" "or whether the *ſilence* of Lord Pi-"got on *ſuch an occaſion* is to be deemed an acknowledgment of it." The ſilence of Lord Pigot on ſuch an occaſion! What occaſion was there for his ſpeaking? The Nabob did not accuſe Him: the Board did not ſuppoſe Him to be guilty. They knew no ſuch order had been iſſued by Lord Pigot. No man, but a Judge of the inquiſition, could ſuppoſe the *ſilence* of an innocent man, of an *unaccuſed* man, to be an acknowledgment of guilt.

Article V. Ill treatment of the principal ſervants of the Nabob.

The next article alleges, "that the moſt creditable and ancient "ſervants of the Nabob, who were at Tanjore, were treated with "great indignities by the *dependents of Lord Pigot*; and ſome of "them detained in priſon by the Rajah, ſo late as the month of "May laſt."

Uncandid alteration of the terms of the complaint.

Neither of this Article have the Council at Bengal taken any notice in their Conſultation: no reſolution have they formed on it. In ſupport of it, however, Mr. Haſtings has given Us extracts from ſeveral letters of the Nabob. But, with his uſual candour and adroitneſs, ſome phraſes are added, ſome paſſages ſuppreſſed. Inſtead of—"your people"—"ſingle guards of your people"—phraſes, which the Nabob had uſed in writing to Lord Pigot—Mr. Haſtings has artfully ſubſtituted—"the *dependents* of Lord Pi-"got"—By the guards, by the people of Lord Pigot, were not meant the dependents of Lord Pigot; but the guards, the ſervants, the dependents of the Company. Poſſible it was, that without the orders, without the conſent, without the connivance, without the knowledge of Lord Pigot, the guards of the Company, the ſervants of the Company, might have been guilty of ſome exceſſes; might have offered ſome indignities to the people of the Nabob. Mr. Haſtings, therefore choſe to bring the accuſation home; to make it perſonal; to leave his Lordſhip no way to eſcape it. The *dependents* of Lord Pigot muſt know the temper, the wiſhes of their Patron; would make them the rule of their conduct. Indignities

offered

offered by them would be conſidered as indignities authoriſed by Him.

Uncandid ſuppreſſion of parts of the Nabob's letter.

Nor more candid, nor leſs adroit was Mr. Haſtings in the ſuppreſſion of ſuch parts of the Nabob's letter as, if repeated, would have ſerved to confute his charge. Lord Pigot had informed the Nabob, "that Nazeeb Cawn had received every mark of reſpect "when He left Tanjore: that every other officer and ſervant of the "Nabob had merited, and had received, from his Lordſhip, every "mark of civility He could poſſibly pay to them." To this aſſertion what is the Nabob's reply? Does He deny, or confirm it? In the ſtrongeſt terms He confirms it. He ſays, "That Nazeeb "Cawn, in a *letter written to the Nabob*, did expreſs his thanks for "the civilities received from his Lordſhip:" "that *others* of the "Nabob's ſervants, whom his Lordſhip had met upon the road, "had done the ſame *(z)*". Here the principal officer is named; others ſo deſcribed as to be eaſily known; their acknowledgments of Lord Pigot's civilities are recogniſed. Theſe acknowledgments are confeſſed to have been made in private, in confidential, letters to the Nabob. Theſe acknowledgments Mr. Haſtings—let his friends, if they can, aſſign any worthy motive—ſuppreſſes.

No one officer named who was ill-treated.

Who then are the officers whom the Nabob declares to have ſuffered diſgrace, diſhonour, ignominy? Are They named? Not one of them. What is their deſcription—"They are the principal "officers and ſervants of the Nabob, ſome of whom, from father "to ſon, had been for years in the ſervice of his family; and all "of whom were *gentlemen* and perſons of *diſtinction*."—Theſe gentlemen, theſe perſons of diſtinction, why were They not named? They are not, I hope, like Mr. Benfield's black man to the Southward, without a name. Gentlemen, perſons of diſtinction, are

(z) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 349.

generally

generally known by ſome name (*a*). I am not very fond of borrowing arguments from the ſelf-created Council of Madraſs: but —Fas eſt et ab hoſte doceri—They will therefore permit me to recall to their memories a remark of their own. "That the terms, in which Mr. Haſtings "ſuppoſes" the Nabob "to inform againſt" his Lordſhip, "are totally *diſſimilar* to the terms, in which a native of "this country (Indoſtan) would convey information (*b*)." This information, then, is not the information of a native of Indoſtan. A native of Indoſtan might have talked of men of a ſuperior *caſt*; of men of *official* rank, but He would never have talked of "*gentlemen*," of "perſons of *diſtinction*." I trace the hand which gave the information. The ideas, the terms, are familiar to, are borrowed from, the Clans of Scotland. In Scotland We are all Gentlemen, all Perſons of Diſtinction.

The charge acknowledged to be without proof, and denied by Lord Pigot.

"Theſe ſervants," ſome of them at leaſt, "were ſtill in con-"finement, under the authority of the Rajah, and the Company's "people, and received their daily allowance from them." It is well, that with the violence of confining, the Rajah and his Lordſhip were not accuſed of the cruelty of ſtarving, the ſervants of the Nabob. They did, it is confeſt, receive their daily allowance. Of a charge ſo remarkable, ſo eaſy to prove, what proof was given?—Could the reader believe it!—Mr. Haſtings acknowledges the *proofs to be wanting*. He ſays too, *the anſwer* is wanting. And this laſt aſſertion He proves in his own way; by producing *the* anſwer; the *only* anſwer, which could be given by a man, who was conſcious of his own innocence, and of the calumny of his accuſer. Fearful, leaſt, in reciting that anſwer, He ſhould efface the bad impreſſions He meant to ſtamp upon the reader by alleging the charge, He juſt inſinuates, that the anſwer "*ſeems only implicitly to deny* the charge."

(*a*) The circumſtance of their having been from father to ſon in the ſervice of the family of the Nabob would be a bad proof of their gentility. The Nabob ſeems to have forgotten, that his father was the firſt of his family, who had a right to have *gentlemen* in his ſervice.

(*b*) See Papers, vol. ii. fol. 203, 204.

What

What then was that anſwer? Take it, as recited by Mr. Haſtings: as given by Lord Pigot at the Board. "The Nabob complaining "in the foregoing letter, that ſome of his people are kept in con- "finement at Tanjore, the Preſident propoſes that a letter be wrote "to the Nabob to requeſt He will inform the Board *who they are*; "that We may apply to the Rajah, to procure their releaſement, "if *unjuſtly kept in* that ſituation."—Is this only an *implicit* denial of the charge? Be it ſo. Yet Mr. Haſtings will, I hope, allow it to be, at leaſt, a *direct* challenge to the Nabob to conſtate the charge. The letter was written (*c*). The challenge was given. Did the Nabob name the ſervants who groaned beneath diſgrace, diſhonour, ignominy, confinement? Not one. What ſhall We ſay to his ſilence? Shall we beg too much, if we beg it may be admitted to be, *at leaſt an implicit denial* of the truth of a charge, which had been wantonly alleged?

Article VI. Seizure of the Nabob's Reiats.

Yet another act of violence is attributed to his Lordſhip—"That "Lord Pigot ſent people at midnight, to ſeize and carry away "ſome of the Nabob's Reiats from the door of his houſe."

Lord Pigot's anſwer to this charge.

Here again Mr. Haſtings is deſerted by his Council. Of this charge no notice is taken in their Conſultation; upon it no reſolution is formed. The proofs are, as uſual, extracted from the letters of the Nabob. What better proof can a defendant expect, than the bare aſſertion of the plaintiff! To this charge even Mr. Haſtings could not ſay, that Lord Pigot had given only an *implicit* denial. He recites—in part, I mean, He recites—his Lordſhip's anſwer. That anſwer, partially recited, contains a *direct* denial of the charge. It is contained in the following minute delivered by his Lordſhip.

"On the 10th May I received the following report from the "head Hircarrah."

(*c*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 351.

"After

" After the Nabob took the Maravars country, the Circars peo-
" ple plundered every thing belonging to the ſaid Maravars Mana-
" gers: Among the reſt one Vellayan Chevacar's houſe was plun-
" dered. His daughter remained in the ſaid country, very poor.
" One Verapilla, an enemy to her, told the Nabob, that ſhe was
" worth money; upon which He ordered her to be brought under a
" guard to Him; and, accordingly, ſhe and two more women,
" and about thirteen men, were brought to Chepauk, *the Com-*
" *pany's bounds*, a few days ago. But upon examining the woman
" there was no money to be got from her, as was expected. On
" this, the ſaid enemy told the Nabob, that if He would ſend her
" back along with him to the ſaid country, he would put her to tor-
" ture and recover the money. The woman would not go for fear
" they ſhould murder her; but they are forcing her to go, and ſhe
" declares if ſhe is forced ſhe will kill her Self. *As ſhe is now in*
" *the Company's bounds*, ſhe ſent to acquaint your Lordſhip with
" the above violence, and beg you to ſave her life; and as it is
" my duty to acquaint you with any news or violence, that might
" be committed in *the bounds*, I thought fit to make this report to
" your Lordſhip."

" The Preſident was upon a viſit, and at ſupper, when He re-
" ceived this information; and as the Nabob's gardens and thoſe of
" the Company's houſe join, he ordered the Hircarrah to wait at
" the Gardens till his return; and to watch if theſe people paſſed.
" About eleven o'clock the Preſident, ſtopping at the Gardens, in
" his way to the Fort, was informed, that the woman was not come
" away, but that ſome of the people had been carried off to-
" wards St. Thomé; upon which the Preſident thought proper
" to direct the officer of the guard to ſend a Havildar and ſome
" Seapoys, who overtook them at St. Thomé; and the Preſident,
" at the ſame time, gave to Saib, one of the Company's waiting
" Peons, the written information He had received, and directed

"Him to carry it to a houſe* of the Nabob, where many of his "ſervants generally are; and to deſire that the woman might not "be removed till He ſaw the Nabob in the morning (*d*)."

Other circumſtances mentioned by Lord Pigot.

Mr. Haſtings was fearful of abuſing the patience of his Council; or perhaps He would have added another circumſtance, which, though not a direct anſwer to this charge, would have aſſiſted his Council in forming a true opinion of the nature and complexion of the charge. It ſtands entered on the Conſultations of the 17th June (*e*).

"The Nabob has not mentioned it in his letter to Sir Edward "Hughes, but the Preſident knows well, He was moſt chagrined "at the Preſident's having releaſed ſome children, ſtolen by a *Moor-* "*man*, formerly, if not at preſent, in the Nabob's ſervice; and "who was *ſtopt in the Company's bounds*, but *conveyed away* by the "*Nabob's officers* into his Highneſs's country; and thereby has "eluded the juſtice of the Engliſh laws: of theſe children, *nine-* "*teen* were taken from *the Tanjore* country, *one* from St. *Thomé*, "and *two* from *Cuddalore*."

Falſity of this charge.

Mark again the candor, with which Mr. Haſtings ſtates his charge! The charge is, that Lord Pigot forced away the *Reiats of the Nabob*. Was the daughter of Vellayan Chevacar a Reiat of the Nabob? Were the children from the Tanjore country, were the children from St. Thomé, were the children from Cuddalore, Reiats of the Nabob? See too the bleſſed effects of the Nabob's reſidence at Madraſs! Not in vain has He brought his family under the cannon of Madraſs, if thoſe cannon be pointed againſt every Governor who checks his violence, ſets bounds to his rapines, holds his hand upreared for murther. To the Nabob belong the Cannon, the Fort, the Government of Madraſs, if to be found

* In Mr. Haſtings's copy of this Minute, either by miſtake, or deſign, inſtead of "*a* houſe," ſtands "*the* houſe." As if it were the houſe where the Nabob reſided.

(*d*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 201, 202, and vol. ii. fol. 283, 284.

(*e*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 265.

within

within the bounds of the Company be to become a Reiat of the Nabob; if, within the bounds of the Company, to protect the helpleſs ſtranger, to releaſe the ſtolen child, to reſtore Him to his diſtracted parents, become criminal, becauſe it is to ſeize the Reiats of the Nabob. An unhidden bluſh will ſometimes tinge the paleſt cheek. Conviction will ſometimes pierce through the thickeſt coat of prejudice. "The ſubject"—meaning this charge—Mr. Haſtings acknowledges "ſcarce merited ſo long a diſcuſſion."

Article IX. Seizure of Mohammed Hebraz Kahn.

The laſt ſpecific act with which this impartial Minute charges Lord Pigot, is, "That a party of Seapoys forcibly entered the Kella of "Woodiarpollam, belonging to the Nabob, with *orders from Lord* "*Pigot* to ſeize Mohammed Hebraz Khan, a principal ſervant of "the Nabob; but that, miſſing Him, they ſearched all the houſes, "and carried away, and ill treated, many of the inhabitants."

A charge without the minuteſt proof.

Obſequious as is the Council of Mr. Haſtings, fearful as They are of contradicting Him, ready as They are to re-echo his ſentiments to their Maſters, yet here again They fail Him. No notice is taken in their Conſultations of this article; no reſolution is formed upon it. The reader, mean while, muſt, by this time be well acquainted with the diſpoſition and the temper of Mr. Haſtings. He muſt have obſerved, that the good Governor is rather more ambitious of the momentary glare, which plays about the temples of the brilliant advocate, than of the calm, but permanent, glories of the impartial Judge. Here then, in this laſt article, We ſhould expect Him to collect his whole force: We ſhould expect Him to cloſe his Philippic, with a charge, ſtated in the cleareſt terms, proved by evidence the moſt inconteſtible, productive of effects the moſt fatal. But what a falling off is here! When; upon what occaſion, were theſe orders given? To whom were they entruſted? By whom were they executed? Did the perſons entruſted with the execution of them conform to the letter, to the ſpirit of them? Did no unforeſeen miſconduct of the inhabitants give occaſion to treat them in a manner not directed by the original

order? Theſe are trifling circumſtances, to which the Governor did not think it neceſſary to advert. In fact, to a circumſtance of rather more importance He ſeems not to have adverted.—Were ſuch orders ever given by Lord Pigot? Were ſuch orders given at all? No doubt of it, ſays Mr. Haſtings. For the complaint was *mentioned* in a letter of the Nabob. And that letter, be it known, deſerved particular attention; *for* it was written in the month of Jeme-de-ul-awul; and it was addreſſed to the Governor-general. And is it poſſible, that a letter, written in the month of Jeme-de-ul-awul, addreſſed to the Governor-general ſhould contain a groundleſs charge!

Criminality ſought in the ſpeculative opinions of Lord Pigot.

But that criminality which is not to be found in "the ſpecific "acts of Lord Pigot," may be collected from the ſpeculative "paſ-"ſages in his Lordſhip's correſpondence with the Nabob. And "in effect" the Governor of Fort William "thinks" theſe ſpeculative opinions of his Lordſhip "more alarming in their ten-"dency to ſubvert the political ſyſtem, which has been forming, "during the ſpace of thirty years paſt, in the Carnatic, than *any* "*ſpecific act* which *has yet* been committed againſt the rights of "the *Nabob*, or the intereſts of the Company." Moſt heartily do I congratulate the Nabob, moſt heartily do I congratulate the Company, on the aſſurances given, by this all-accompliſhed ſtateſman, that the rights of the one and the intereſts of the other have ſuffered ſo little from any, or from all, of theſe ſpecific acts of his Lordſhip. To Mr. Haſtings We muſt leave it to explain to Us, why the acts, which his Lordſhip *did*, were detailed with ſuch pomp, arraigned with ſuch acrimony; why acts which his Lordſhip did *not*, were ſuppoſed with ſuch boldneſs, and affirmed with ſuch confidence; if, after all, We be to learn, that no ill effect hath ariſen from all theſe acts, real, or ſuppoſed; that, from them all, the political ſyſtem of the Carnatic hath ſuſtained no greater ſhock than it hath ſuſtained from mere ſpeculative opinions.

Nothing

Nothing is ſo harmleſs as a *ſpeculative* opinion. Then only can it become dangerous, when it leads to ſpecific acts. Theſe ſpeculative opinions are ſaid to be "declaratory of the principles "of his Lordſhip's political conduct." From a review of his political conduct, it has not appeared, that his *principles*, or "his "ſpeculative opinions, declaratory of thoſe principles," have yet led Him to any ſpecific act which tends to ſubvert the political ſyſtem of the Carnatic.

Theſe opinions recited by Mr. Haſtings.

But let us face our enemy. Dreadful, indeed, was the impreſſion, which the dangerous doctrines of his Lordſhip made on Mr. Haſtings, made on his Council: Poſſible it is that having penetrated there, it may ſink into our boſoms: ſtill let us boldly face the enemy. Terrible as theſe doctrines may be, ſure as may be their tendency to ſubvert the political ſyſtem of the Carnatic, the bare recital of them will not, I hope, ſubvert the political ſyſtem of Great Britain. The Britiſh reader may peruſe them without danger. Hear how the Governor recites them, as He has—or pretends to have—extracted them from his Lordſhip's correſpondence with the Nabob.

"I will never interfere in your buſineſs, *&c.* but when that buſi-"neſs is connected with the intereſt of my Employers. In ſuch "caſe You may be aſſured I *ſhall always act as appears to be (ſ) pro-"per:* and as You are their old friend and ally, I dare ſay You "will approve of my making uſe of your authority."

"Shall the gates of Arrialoor, or any other gates in the Payen "Ghaut be ſhut againſt the troops of the Company, who have "fought for You near thirty years; when *they* aſk admittance by "*my authority?* I hope not. This would be an improper return

(ſ) This I ſuppoſe is an error of the preſs. It ſhould be—"to *me* proper."

"to

" *to the man*, who put your Highneſs in poſſeſſion of them, upon " *your ſolemn aſſurances*, that there was no diſtinction between *You* " *and the Company*; and that You wiſhed it only for the appearance " it would have with the country powers."

The firſt paragraph miſquoted.

Much has been attributed to air, much to climate, much to kinds of food, much to original organization, by writers, who have eſtimated the virtues and the vices, the powers and the weakneſſes, the propenſities and the averſions of men. Is it to any one, or to an union of all theſe cauſes, We muſt attribute that unconquerable propenſity in Mr. Haſtings and his Council, to miſquote, to change, to ſuppreſs.—" I will never interfere in your buſineſs " *&c.*"—What is this *&c.* to ſupply? Words of no mean import: words which, omitted expreſs ſentiments convenient for the arguments of Mr. Haſtings, inſerted give a ſenſe becoming the ſtation of Lord Pigot.

The paſſage given unmutilated.

Let Us then ſupply the words which are wanting; let Us give the paragraph unmutilated, as it ſtands at length. It is but common juſtice to let his Lordſhip expreſs his own ſentiments in his own language.—" Be aſſured I will do every thing in my power to " protect *your rights*."—Theſe words Mr. Haſtings has totally omitted—" and that I will never interfere in your buſineſs, *as*"—theſe are the words Mr. Haſtings ſupplies by an *&c.*—" *as You are* " *pleaſed to expreſs your Self*, unleſs *that* buſineſs is connected with " the intereſts of my Employers; in ſuch caſe You may be aſſured I " ſhall always act as appears to *Me* proper. And as you are their " old friend and ally, I dare ſay You will approve of my making " uſe of your authority (*g*)."

Effects of this miſquotation.

To miſquote through negligence, through inadvertence, would be no venial fault in men, who conceived their Selves to be ſitting

(*g*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 128.

in

in judgment on the conduct of a Governor; who conceived their Selves to be in the actual exerciſe of a controling power veſted in them for the moſt important purpoſes; the diſcharge of which required the niceſt delicacy, the cooleſt, the moſt deliberate attention. But for ſuch men, in ſuch a ſituation, to miſquote with a deſign to miſlead, is a crime, to which I dare not give a name. And yet, when I ſee one paſſage omitted, which gave its colour and complexion to the whole paragraph; when I ſee another, which fixed the meaning of the moſt queſtionable word, ſupplied by an inſignificant *&c.* I am forced to ſummon all my candor, ere I can believe, that the miſquotation aroſe from negligence, or inadvertence.

Real meaning of the paſſage.

What is the plain and literal meaning of this paſſage, as it ſtands quoted at length? What alarms can ariſe from the doctrine which it delivers, or the principles which it declares? The Nabob, in a long ſeries of letters, had talked of Tanjore as of *his* country: had talked of the collection of the revenues, of the expenditure of the revenues, of the adminiſtration of Government, in Tanjore as of *his rights*; had talked of the ordering, and the managing, of theſe objects as of *his buſineſs*. In anſwer to this what does Lord Pigot ſay to Him? So far from threatening to infringe the *rights* of the Nabob; He tells Him "*be aſſured I will do every thing in my power* "*to protect them.*" This doctrine was not dangerous, this principle had no tendency to ſubvert the political ſyſtem of the Carnatic. It made a part of the paragraph from which Mr. Haſtings copied his extract. Why then was it omitted? His Lordſhip goes on: He pretends no right to interfere in what is properly the buſineſs of the Nabob; but He talks of a buſineſs which He maintains to be *not* the buſineſs of the Nabob, but buſineſs, in which the intereſts of his Lordſhip's Employers are connected—this the candid reader will allow to be the obvious ſenſe of the words ſupplied by an *&c.*; of the phraſe; "as You are pleaſed to expreſs your Self." —"In ſuch caſe"—ſays his Lordſhip; in *that* buſineſs which *is not*, but which You *miſcall, your buſineſs*, which is indeed the buſineſs of my Employers—"Be aſſured I ſhall always act as it

"ſhall

"shall appear to *Me* to be proper." After this manly declaration his Lordship softens his tone; recalls to the Nabob his ancient friendship and alliance with the Company; expresses his full confidence, that in *such* business, his Highness will even allow Him to make use of *his* authority.

Which does not convey such doctrines as Mr. Hastings supposes.

Very susceptible must be the breast, upon which these doctrines, these principles, could make any violent impression; timid the character of that man, whose firmness they could alarm: feeble the political system, which They could subvert! And is this the declaration, which "is equivalent to an assumption to his Self of "all the powers vested in the lawful Nabob of the Carnatic (*b*)!" Is this a declaration, that "it is allowed to the President of Fort "St. George to make use of the *Nabob's own authority*, even in the "*Nabob's own affairs!*"—I see a line distinctly drawn between the business, the affairs of the Nabob; and the business, the affairs of the Company; between that which is, and that which the Nabob miscalls, his business. Of the former, of the real business of the Nabob, nothing is said; no right to interfere is pretended; no authority, no power is assumed. Of the latter, I hear a Governor asserting, that *there* He will act, as to Him it shall seem proper to act: I hear Him *inviting* the Nabob to lend his name, his authority, to facilitate, to expedite the business of the Company; to promote the interests of the Company. Certainly this can be no injury to the interests of the Company; no injury, so far as I can discover, to the rights of the Nabob. I cannot see how this doctrine, or this principle can be applied to justify "any species of "violence; any species of indignity, which can be offered to the "Nabob:" unless by a hostile opposition to the interests of the Company, the Nabob should provoke violence, should invite indignity. What language would Mr. Hastings recommend to the English Governor, to the representative of the English Company?

(*b*) See Fifth Resolution of the Bengal Consultation.

When

When the intereſts of his Employers are concerned, when the orders of his Employers have preſcribed a certain line of conduct, would He have Him fall down before this mighty Nabob, kiſs the hem of his Highneſs's garment, lick the duſt under the ſoles of his Highneſs's feet; produce the orders of his Employers, and ſubmiſſively demand—Hoccine meum an non? Am I to carry this order into execution? Is it the buſineſs of my Employers, or the buſineſs of your Highneſs? May I preſume, have I your Highneſs's conſent to ſubmit this queſtion to the deliberation of my Council? May We, in Council, preſume, have We your Highneſs's conſent, to form any reſolution upon it: to execute ſuch reſolution, as to us may appear proper? Or ſhall We treat this order, as the Senate of Venice treats the Bulls of the Pope; kiſs it with reſpect, leave it unread, unexecuted, unheeded, to be covered with the duſt of our Archives?—Such a conduct may become the meek and humble ſpirit of Mr. Stratton and his friends; to the manly character of Lord Pigot it belonged to aſſert for the Company, to aſſert for the Governor of the Company, the right of judging for their Selves in their own affairs; of "*always acting, where their intereſts* "*are concerned, as to Him and them ſhall appear to be proper.*" Not to the tone of ſubmiſſion do We owe; not by the tone of ſubmiſſion can We ever hope to preſerve, our acquiſitions in India, our importance in Europe, our dominions in America (*i*).

Second Article unfairly quoted by the Council of Bengal.

But "the conſequences of the right claimed by Lord Pigot to "enter every gate in the Carnatic with the Company's forces are "equally dangerous; as the right itſelf, if admitted, would be a "direct ſubverſion of the Nabob's *ſovereignty* over the Carnatic (*k*)." This is cold: It wants the uſual animation of Mr. Haſtings. But,

(*i*) Had Lowis XIV. talked—and I believe He did talk—of the ſucceſſion of the Duke of Anjou to the Spaniſh monarchy, as of *his buſineſs*; would that have prevented, or did it prevent, other powers from interfering in *that* buſineſs, from acting as they thought proper?

(*k*) We have already ſeen that the Nabob is not *Sovereign* over the Carnatic. This, therefore, would be to ſubvert that which does not exiſt.

to compenſate his defects, his Council have improved upon their Preſident; They have diſcovered, that his Lordſhip's declaration "implies a general denial of the Nabob's right to refuſe admittance "of the Company's troops into any of his forts or garriſons;" and They have diſcovered too, that it "founds that denial upon a "*ſuppoſed perſonal ingratitude to the Preſident*, not on a breach of "the regard and friendſhip, due to the *Company*; as if his High-"neſs's obligation for being put into poſſeſſion of ſuch fort and "garriſons, was due to the Preſident alone inexcluſive (*l*) of the "Company."

Theſe are diſcoveries which would have done honour to Mr. Haſtings. The implications too were obtained in the manner of Mr. Haſtings. The Council have copied the example ſet them by their illuſtrious leader. They have ſuppreſſed—They, and They only can tell us why, but they have ſuppreſſed—the explanatory part of the ſentence; ſtopt ſhort in the middle; and thereby perverted the meaning of the whole. Hear how the worthy Council have quoted, what they call, his Lordſhip's declaration—

"Reſolved, that the Preſident's declaration, "That if the "gates of Arrialoor, or any other gates in the Payen Ghaut, ſhould "be ſhut againſt the troops of the Company, when They aſked "admiſſion by his authority, it would be an improper return to "the man, who had put his Highneſs in poſſeſſion of them."

The Paragraph completed.

This the reader is left to ſuppoſe to be the whole of what his Lordſhip ſaid upon this ſubject. What muſt be his feelings when, on turning to the original letter, He finds the following words included in the ſame paragraph! "upon your ſolemn aſſur-"ances, that there was no diſtinction between You and the Com-"pany; and that You only wiſhed it for the appearance it would "have with the country powers."

(*l*) This I ſuppoſe to be an error of the preſs, and that "*in excluſion*," was meant.

Is

Is it true, now, that this paragraph founds the denial of the Nabob's right to refuſe admittance to the troops of the Company, when admittance is officially demanded by the repreſentative of the Company, on a ſuppoſed perſonal ingratitude to Lord Pigot? Does it ſuppoſe the obligation of the Nabob, for his being put into poſſeſſion of his forts and garriſons, was due to Lord Pigot alone, in excluſion of the Company? Does He not found his denial of the Nabob's right to refuſe admittance to the troops of the Company, when that admittance is officially demanded by the repreſentative of the Company, on a breach of the regard, the friendſhip, the good faith, which the Nabob owes to the Company? [And is there a ſervant of the Company, who will deny the right of the Company to demand admittance for their troops, in any of the forts or garriſons in the Carnatic, whenever their intereſts, their welfare, ſhall require it? Does Lord Pigot ſpeak of his Self in his individual, or in his official capacity: in his perſonal, or in his public character? Was it too much to recall to the attention of the Nabob, that it was by Him, under his authority, as repreſentative of the Company, that the Nabob was put in poſſeſſion of his forts and his garriſons? Was it too much to recall to the attention of the Nabob the ſolemn aſſurances He gave to Lord Pigot, as the repreſentative of the Company, "that there ſhould be no diſtinction between Him and the "Company?" May not ſomething be allowed to a ſtrong ſenſe of miſplaced confidence, of ill-requited friendſhip? Something to the ſhame of being forced to tell his Employers—"The man, for "the ſincerity of whoſe aſſurances I became reſponſible, has de-"ceived me?" Under theſe circumſtances where is the criminality of telling the Nabob, that a breach of the regard, the friendſhip, the good faith He owed to the Company would be an improper return to the man, who, as repreſentative of the Company, had done ſo much for the Nabob?

Which does not warrant the concluſions drawn from it.

We have examined each of the charges brought, by the Nabob, againſt Lord Pigot. Of the Nine Articles into which Mr. Haſtings

Review of the charges againſt Lord

Pigot, ſo far as they regard the Nabob.

ings had diſtributed the accuſation, no leſs than ſix have been found to be unſupported by proof, deſtitute of all foundation. Lord Pigot refuſed to accept the Fort of Tanjore under any conditions: it is not therefore true, that He made, or repeated, any promiſe to the Nabob, that the aſſignments, given by the Nabob on the country of Tanjore, ſhould be applied to the diſcharge of the arrears, due to the troops of the Nabob. Nor, had his Lordſhip been ſurpriſed into ſuch a promiſe, could the Nabob have expected Him to perform it. Becauſe the Nabob knew it to be a direct violation of the orders of the Company: of thoſe very orders, of which, at his own requeſt, He had received an authentic copy (*m*). It is not true, that He cauſed any proclamation to be iſſued, through the diſtricts of Tanjore, forbidding any one to give protection, or rice, to the people of the Nabob (*n*). It is not true, that the ſervants of the Nabob were treated, by his Lordſhip, with indignity. The ſervants of the Nabob declared, in confidential letters to the Nabob, that his Lordſhip had ſhewn them every poſſible mark of attention (*o*). It is not true that Lord Pigot threatened to place a guard upon the Nabob (*p*). It is not true, that, by order of Lord Pigot, an Engliſh officer, with a company of Seapoys, entered the countries of Ramnaut and Shevu Ganga, and took forcible poſſeſſion of certain diſtricts in them. The troops marched after Lord Pigot's departure; upon the application of the Rajah; in conſequence of a *general* order from the *Board*: nor did theſe troops take forcible poſſeſſion, or take any poſſeſſion, of the diſtricts, which—it is not barely pretended but proved—did of right belong to the Rajah: were forcibly detained by the Nabob (*q*). And laſtly, it is not true, that Lord Pigot gave any orders, to any party, to enter the Kella of Woodiarpollam; to ſeize Mohammed Hebraz Khan, or any other ſervant

(*m*) Art. II.

(*n*) Art. IV. Yet many circumſtances might be ſuppoſed, in which ſuch an order would have been juſtifiable; would have been neceſſary.

(*o*) Article V. (*p*) Article VII. (*q*) Article VIII.

of

of the Nabob (*r*). The facts alleged in the three articles, which remain, are partly true and partly falſe. So far as they are true, they have been fully juſtified. It is not true that the Dobbeer was ſeized by force: It is not true, that the Seapoys of the Nabob were driven away; it is not true, that any ſervant, any paper, of the Nabob was ſeized. That the Prime Miniſter of Tanjore was protected, eſcorted from the country of the Nabob, where He was illegally detained, to the Court of his natural Sovereign, to which He had a wiſh, and a right to return, is true, and has been fully juſtified (*s*). It is not true, that Lord Pigot cauſed the aſſignments of the Nabob to be taken from his creditors; but it is true, that He would not allow the validity of thoſe aſſignments: it was expreſsly commanded by the Company to pay no regard to demands made by the Nabob for any expences in the reduction of Tanjore, or for the ſervice of Tanjore: it is not true, that He iſſued any orders of his own; but it is true, that He gave out the general orders of the Board, reſpecting the collection of the revenues of Tanjore. The orders of the Company; the orders of the Board, will ſurely protect Him againſt the cenſures of the Company; againſt the cenſures of the Board (*t*). It is not true, that Lord Pigot ſeized the Reiats of the Nabob from the door of the Nabob; but it is true, that He reclaimed the children of other countries, ſtolen by the ſervants of the Nabob: that He reſtored them to their diſconſolate parents; that He protected within the bounds of the Company, a ſtranger oppreſſed by the people of the Nabob; that He liſtened to the cries of a trembling woman, who, within the bounds of the Company begged Him to ſave her from death; from worſe than death; from the rack, on which diſappointed avarice and revenge were about to break her quivering limbs. Is there a man who can expect, who can allow, me to allege a ſingle argument, to utter one poor ſyllable, as a *juſtification*, as a *defence*, of his Lordſhip here? With the good opinion of that man, may I,

(*r*) Article IX. (*s*) Article I. (*t*) Article III.

may

may no friend of mine, be ever branded! In the eyes of that man may his Lordſhip remain unjuſtified (*u*)! . . . . . To the Nine Articles, into which Mr. Haſtings diſtributed the complaints of the Nabob, were added, We have ſeen, Two ſupplementary charges. Theſe likewiſe We have examined. They are drawn from, what Mr. Haſtings has called, "the ſpeculative paſſages of his Lord-"ſhip's correſpondence with the Nabob;" what, at one time, He calls, "the principles; at another, "doctrines declaratory of "the principles, of his Lordſhip's political conduct." And here, with a mixture of ſurprize and indignation, We have ſeen the Governor and Council of Fort William—through negligence and inattention, We muſt ſuppoſe, for who will dare to accuſe them of an artifice, ſo illiberal, ſo ungenerous, ſo iniquitous, as deliberately to have been—betrayed into miſquotations, ſuppreſſions, mutilations, which blacken the colour, diſtort the ſenſe, envenom the effects of the doctrines, they attribute to his Lordſhip. The paſſages have been quoted at length; and thus fairly given they appear to convey only the ſentiments, which it always becomes a Britiſh Governor to feel; which at that particular moment, and under thoſe particular circumſtances, it became the Britiſh Governor to expreſs. In a word, the acts and the declarations of his Lordſhip, have not the moſt diſtant connection with the treaty of Paris; are not the ſlighteſt violation of the act for regulating the affairs of the Eaſt India Company; ſince; "taken collectively, or "ſeparately," they are no infringement of the rights of the Nabob, but only an aſſertion of the rights of the Company; have no tendency, direct or indirect, immediate, or intermediate, to diſturb, but tended directly and immediately to maintain, the peace of the Carnatic; and were therefore neither unwarranted, nor unjuſt. From this examination the concluſion is obvious and unavoidable. The reſolution of the Council of Bengal "that the Board would "ſupport the rights of the lawful Nabob of the Carnatic againſt

(*u*) Article VI.

"all

"all *such* attempts for the future; and that they would exert, with "effect, the power veſted in them by the legiſlature, for ſuperin- "tending and controling the government of the Preſidency of "Madraſs, *for the preſervation of peace in the Carnatic* (*x*)," cannot by the utmoſt effort of the moſt unſuſpecting candor, be attributed to any cauſe, which does not reflect diſgrace on the framers. Miſled by the pernicious miſrepreſentations of intereſted informers, of baſe incendiaries, did They, without proof, without enquiry, believe the exiſtence of the dangers, which They paint? Their credulity is entitled to our pity. Intoxicated by a childiſh avidity of diſplaying their own importance, the extent of their own ſuperintending and controling powers, did They ſet up theſe imaginary dangers, theſe men of ſtraw, on purpoſe to beat them down again? Their puerility deſerves our contempt. Is it poſſible to ſuppoſe, that, actuated by envy, or reſentment, or avarice, They declared their reſolution to ſupport rights which They did not believe to be infringed; againſt attempts which They did not believe to have been made, or deſigned? To exert extraordinary powers for the preſervation of a peace which They did not believe to be endangered?—Were this ſuppoſition poſſible—all language would be too weak to expreſs the ſenſations ſuch a conduct would excite.

His Lordſhip accuſed of tyranny, and inhumanity to Comera Dubaſh.

But ſhould his Lordſhip ſtand acquitted—as ſurely He does ſtand acquitted—of all indignity, all violence, all indecent haughtineſs to the Nabob, ſtill He is to anſwer to other heavy charges. Charges of tyranny and inhumanity. He is accuſed of inflicting an arbitrary and inhuman puniſhment on one individual; and that individual too, We are taught to believe, "a man of ſome note "and high birth; a circumſtance," We are told, "much at- "tended to in India (*y*)."

(*x*) See Bengal Conſultation, Auguſt 7, 1776. India Houſe.
(*y*) See Caſe, fol. 3.

Who

Who then was this man of note and birth, this equal of a Manners (z). What offence had He given to his Lordſhip? What puniſhment did his Lordſhip inflict on Him?

Account of this man.

Know, reader, that this man of note and birth, this equal of a Manners, was a money-lender, a broker: in point of rank, on a footing with the reſpectable ſons of Levi, who ſneak about our 'Change; whoſe advertiſements fill columns of our daily papers, kindly offering to ſupply the wants of young heirs by the purchaſe of annuities, or the anticipation of poſt-obits: in point of wealth, the man may have his weight: in point of character, He is the Shylock of Madraſs; a man of that caſt "upon whoſe beard" the honeſt Merchant of Venice "would have voided his rheum."

Occaſion of his puniſhment.

What offence had He given to his Lordſhip? To his Lordſhip directly none. But He had offended the Rajah. The Rajah, We may remember, had no great reaſon to be pleaſed with Him; could not be very deſirous of ſeeing Him at his Court. For this man of birth and note, was Comera Dubaſh, *Mr. Benfield's black man* to the Southward: the man without a name; who, without Mr. Benfield's authority, is ſaid to have drawn on Mr. Benfield for twelve lacks of rupees; who is ſaid to have given this bill, for a valuable conſideration, as caſh, to the Rajah; and who is ſaid, afterwards, at

(z) The Author of the Caſe ranks this individual with one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families in England—"What would a *Manners* ſay on being flogged in "St. James's Park by an officer of the Mogul's, becauſe He attended the King's "levee to *congratulate* Him on his *reſtoration* to Hanover, which the Emperor had "*ſeized hold of*."—(Caſe fol. 17. Note.) I really do not know. Nor do I know what the Head, or the Members, of the family of the Manners will ſay to, or think of, this polite gentleman, for the honour done them in degrading them to the rank of *brokers*. I am glad, however, to find this gentleman acknowlege, that the Nabob had no more right to Tanjore than the Emperor has to Hanover. That the country of Tanjore was not legally poſſeſſed by the Nabob, but—in our Author's elegant and expreſſive language—"ſeized hold of."

the

the inſtigation of the Nabob, to have denied his own act, declared that He had given no bill (*a*). The man thus ſuppoſed to have been the immediate inſtrument of his paſt misfortunes, could not, We may imagine, be a very acceptable courtier to the Rajah. Into the preſence of the Rajah, however, on the very night of Lord Pigot's arrival at Tanjore, He intruded—He intruded at an unſeemly hour; after the Rajah was retired to reſt. His pretext was, no doubt, to congratulate the Rajah on his reſtoration; his aim is ſuſpected to have been very different; to ſuggeſt ſuch pernicious counſels, as might precipitate the Rajah from the throne He had juſt reaſcended. Qualified to be an Eaſtern Agent, being of *low rank, and great cunning*; requiring only *general* credentials (*b*); furniſhed, by ſome intelligent friend, with all the proceedings of the Board; He entered on his taſk. Lord Pigot, He knew, was to *require*, that the Fort ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of an Engliſh garriſon: ſuch were the orders of the Company. He was to *recommend* it to the Rajah, that the country ſhould be protected by the troops of the Company: ſuch was the reſolution of the Board. By repeating theſe orders ſo early, He convinced the Rajah that He had good intelligence of what paſſed at the Board: this gave an air of plauſibility to his aſſertion, "that He "was ſupported by *ſeven members of the Council*:" That aſſertion being credited might, He hoped, give weight to his advice, which was "to be firm *in refuſing* theſe propoſitions of his Lordſhip;" to reply, that He would govern his country as his father had done, and *protect it* by his own troops. This advice was yet farther enforced by the offer of *ſupplying the Rajah with any ſum of money He might want*. The Rajah ſaw, or thought He ſaw, through his deſign. He ſuſpected the Broker to be an emiſſary, employed by the Nabob, to counſel Him to purſue meaſures which muſt end in

(*a*) See Narrative, fol. 31. And the Rajah's Letter to the Court of Directors, dated Oct. 21, 1776. India Houſe. Mr. Benfield acknowledged the bill to have been drawn and ſent to the Nabob.

(*b*) See Introduction, fol. 27.

his deſtruction: Of this intruſion, therefore, into his preſence; of the purport of this inſidious advice, the Rajah complained to his Lordſhip (*c*).

The puniſhment not diſproportioned to the ofſence.

That the Rajah complained to Lord Pigot of the intruſion of Comera, of the inſidious propoſals of Comera, Lord Pigot aſſerts in direct terms. He could not be miſtaken. And, with all due ſubmiſſion to Comera and his reſpectable friends, Kiſtnajee Punday, and Soaberow Amuldar, I would rather rely on his Lordſhip's aſſertion, than upon all the anſwers which They gave to the interrogatories put to them by Mr. Stratton and his adherents. This fact, therefore, admitted—that the Rajah complained to his Lordſhip of the intruſion and inſidious propoſals of Comera—the character and former conduct of the man conſidered; weighing moreover the danger which might ariſe to the kingdom of Tanjore, in the then unſettled ſtate of its affairs, if ſuch attempts were not cruſhed at their firſt appearance, his Lordſhip might perhaps have ſtood excuſed had He treated Him, as the commander of an army would treat a ſpy. He can require no very elaborate juſtification for having—to borrow Mr. Dalrymple's expreſſion, and I borrow it, becauſe I think it proper—"cut his machinations ſhort, "by ordering Him to be chabucked on the public parade (*d*)."

(*c*) This good man, this Comera, has ſince ſaid, "that when *He ſent up* his "name to the Rajah He ordered Him to be admitted. and received Him as one "long known to Him." This may be very true, and yet his viſit may have been an *intruſion*. In the unſettled ſtate of his affairs, the Rajah might be fearful of offending a man ſupported by *ſeven members of the Council*; might not think it *prudent* to refuſe a viſit, which He neither invited nor wiſhed. Mr. Stratton and his adherents, ſince Lord Pigot's confinement, but not in his preſence, not in the preſence of any of his friends, examined this Comera. Of the candour of this examination, judge from one queſtion. The complaint was, that Comera had *intruded* his Self into the preſence of the Rajah. With their uſual adroitneſs, the examiners ſubſtitute one phraſe for another; and Comera and his friends are aſked, whether "He *forced his way* into the Rajah's houſe?" Papers, vol. i. folio 509.

(*d*) See Narrative, fol. 30—33. The Author of the Caſe, ſpeaking of this puniſhment, ſays—"Which Mr. Dalrymple calls a conciſe method of ſtopping

"*improper*

But had his Lordſhip been miſtaken, had He, as Mr. Stratton and his adherents have choſen to ſuppoſe, been miſled by the falſe or malicious information of his own Dubaſh;—for ſo They chuſe to call the Dubaſh of the Company; a man of known integrity; conſulted, and truſted by the Board *—was the crime, after all, of ſo heinous a nature, as to be ſeriouſly urged among the reaſons for depriving his Lordſhip of his government and liberty? What will poſterity ſay to it? Let us look forward to ſome future period, when another Brown ſhall make another "Eſtimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times." Speaking of the ſpirit of humanity and of the ſpirit of liberty, Let Him point to the preſent age, as to the æra where they were carried to their higheſt pitch. Let Him paſs by the common proofs, which ſtrike upon the vulgar eye: Let Him appeal to this tranſaction. "At that time"—will He tell our aſtoniſhed children—"the ſons of Britain, who reſided "in India, were ſaid to have deviated from the ruling manners "and principles of their age and country. But the accuſation was "the offſpring of malice; and nurtured by ignorance. For, at "that time, a Britiſh Governor was ſent to reſtore an injured "Prince to a throne, which a powerful and ambitious neighbour "had uſurped. He went; He ſignified the commands of his Em"ployers. To this ſame Governor the Government of the ſame "ſettlement had before been entruſted. And ſuch was the cha"racter He acquired; ſo eſtabliſhed was his reputation for firm"neſs and integrity, that the uſurper dared not reſiſt the orders. "The King was reſtored, and teſtified his gratitude by the moſt "liberal conceſſions, by marks of the moſt zealous attachment, "to the Employers of the Governor. In accompliſhing this re-

Was excuſable, even upon leſs proof of the man's offence.

"*improper negociations.*"—Between "improper negociations," and "*machinations*" there appears to be a wide interval. But this gentleman is not very happy at diſtinguiſhing the different ſhades of ideas. Mr. Mackay, be it remembered, was the only member of the Council, who diſapproved his Lordſhip's inflicting this puniſhment on the noted Comera.

* Mooder Kiſtna, Interpreter to the Board. See Extract from Military Conſultation, 16 Nov. 1772. India Houſe. Lord Pigot has no Dubaſh of his *own*.

" ſtoration not a life was loſt, not a drop of blood was ſpilt; ſave " only what was drawn from the back of a money-lender, who " had before, been employed, and whom now the Governor on good " grounds ſuſpected to be employed, by the Uſurper, to miſlead " the unfortunate Prince, whoſe reſtoration He wiſhed, but had " not courage, to oppoſe. In the puniſhment inflicted upon " this emiſſary, the Governor did not exceed the bounds of mo- " deration; but in eſtabliſhing the proofs of his crime, He diſ- " regarded uſual forms. And at this period, even in India, ſo " alive were the ſons of Britain to the finer feelings of humanity; " ſo zealous in the cauſe of liberty; ſo fearful of ſpilling human " blood; that this omiſſion of form was urged among the reaſons " for depoſing, for impriſoning a Governor, grown old in the " ſervice of his country, diſtinguiſhed by his Sovereign with well- " earned honours; covered with laurels acquired in the fair field " of glory."

Charges againſt his Lordſhip's conduct at the Board.

Hitherto, I perſuade my Self, the reader has not ſeen any thing to cenſure in the conduct of Lord Pigot: much leſs can He have ſeen any thing—I will not ſay to juſtify, but even—to excuſe, to extenuate the violent meaſures purſued againſt Him. But yet heavier charges remain. Should it be allowed, that He offered no indignity to the Nabob; ſhould it, therefore, be allowed, that the demand made by the Nabob to the Governor and Council of Bengal—to do what They had no right to do—to "remove his " Lordſhip from the Government (*e*)," was an inſolent interference in the affairs of the Company, to which He "had *no right*," and ought to have had "no diſpoſition:" ſhould it be allowed, that the puniſhment inflicted on Comera, was no more than was due to

(*e*) See Nabob's Letter to the Governor-general and Council of Bengal, Auguſt 21, 1776. Original Papers, fol. 40. When Mr. Stratton and his adherents, at the inſtigation of the Nabob, had effected this removal, then the *good old man* falls back, and declares—" that He has neither a *right* nor a *diſpoſition* to interfere " in their affairs." See the Nabob's Letter to Mr. Stratton, Auguſt 29, 1776. Original Papers, fol. 70.

his

his demerits; no more than a proper application of the wiſe man's advice to give "ſtripes to the back of a fool *(f)*:" ſtill how ſhall We defend his Lordſhip's conduct with reſpect to the members of the Board?

Pains taken to circulate them.

The charges againſt his Lordſhip on this point are numerous. But, numerous as they are, it will not be difficult to collect them. They have been printed at length, repeated over and over again in the Papers publiſhed by order of the Court of Directors: they have been abridged, reduced to the convenient ſize of hand-bills; bruited in our coffee-houſes, retailed in our newſpapers, diſtributed in the India Houſe, ſlipt into our hands at every corner of the ſtreets: and, what is more than all, they have been avowed by his Lordſhip.

Charges ſpecified.

The charges are: that his Lordſhip wiſhed "to keep up uni-"formity to the *accuſtomed* and *regular* manner of conducting the "buſineſs of the Company on this coaſt, which has ever to his "knowledge originated with the Preſident:" "That from the "conſtitution of the ſervice, He was well convinced no perſon "but him Self could agitate a queſtion at the Board; that He had "ever known that right veſted ſolely in the Preſident, who muſt "always be ſuppoſed to be the beſt judge of what queſtions are, and "are not, fit to be propoſed for the benefit of the Company's affairs; "and who, if a queſtion ſhould be propoſed which to Him ſhould "appear productive of bad conſequences, has an undoubted right "to prevent the queſtion being put (*g*):" That He refuſed to put a

(*f*) Eaſtern critics inform Us, that the term which we tranſlate "fool," ſhould be rendered "knave."

(*g*) Papers, vol. i. folio 236. 320, 321. On this occaſion, however, his Lordſhip waved what He deemed to be his privilege. He took the ſentiments of the Board; put it to the vote, whether *his* motion, or that of Mr. Mackay, ſhould be firſt put; ſuffered the opinion of the Majority to prevail. Three motions of Mr. Mackay were put before his Lordſhip's. His Lordſhip, on this occaſion, *moved*, that Mr. Mackay's firſt queſtion ſhould not be put; but here again He ſubmitted to the

queſtion moved by a member of the Board for reſcinding a reſolution, which, after long debates, had regularly paſt but a few days before, and had been read and confirmed at a ſucceeding conſultation (*h*): that He would not ſuffer a previous queſtion, moved by the ſame member, to be put upon a motion, introduced by the *Preſident*, becauſe "He conſidered it as an innovation (*i*)." That He claimed a right in the Preſident to adjourn the Council, even againſt the opinion of the Majority: That He aſſerted, a reſolution of the Majority of the Board cannot be carried into execution without the concurrence of the Preſident (*k*). That He aſſerted, Councils were "appointed only the better to enable the Preſident "to manage the affairs of the Company:" That He declared, He never would aſſent to Colonel Stuart's proceeding to Tanjore; till Mr. Ruſſell went thither (*l*): That He never would give his ſanction to any inſtructions to Colonel Stuart, till orders were given to Mr. Ruſſell to proceed, as He had been before appointed Reſident

the Majority, as by the way He *always did*, whenever a queſtion was, as He conceived, *legally* before the Board. And this obſervation will explain what his Lordſhip means when He ſays—"That all buſineſs *originates* with the Preſi-"dent." "That the Preſident only can *agitate* a queſtion" He clearly means that no vote can be taken upon any queſtion unleſs the Preſident put that queſtion. One of the abridgers of the charges againſt his Lordſhip has turned the Preſident's *motion* for not putting one of Mackay's queſtions, into a *declaration*—"That a" —that is *any*—"queſtion propoſed by any other member of the Board *ſhould not* "be put." The ſame ſcribbler has aſſerted, that giving a *caſting* vote, was an *unconditional* claim of *two* votes. His Lordſhip declared, "the conſtant uſage of "the ſervice was, that all intercourſe and correſpondence with the country powers "were carried on by the Preſident alone." This the ſame ſhameleſs ſcribbler repreſents, not as an appeal to uſage, but, as a declaration on the part of his Lordſhip, "that none but the Preſident ſhall have any intercourſe with the country "powers." It is deſcending perhaps very low to notice ſuch reptiles as theſe; but when their poiſon, like the advertiſements of quacks, are diſtributed in hand-bills, the unwary may be deceived; thoſe may be affected, who have not leiſure or ſtrength to go through the ſeverer courſe "of a voluminous collection of Papers."

(*b*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 264. 268. 318.
(*i*) Ibid. vol. ii. fol. 349.
(*k*) Ibid. vol. i. fol. 326. Vol. ii. fol. 66, 67.
(*l*) Ibid. vol. ii. fol. 396. Vol. i. fol. 356.
(*m*) Ibid. vol. i. fol. 357.

to

to Tanjore (*m*): That He refuſed to put the queſtion moved by a member of the Board, for taking into conſideration the inſtructions to be given to Colonel Stuart (*n*): That He would not even allow the motion to be agitated at the Board (*o*): That He declared "that no orders given by the Board, can be conſidered as "acts of Government without the name of the Preſident (*p*):" That He ſuſpended two members of the Board (*q*): That He took no notice of a motion regularly made and ſeconded to adjourn the Board (*r*): That by his own authority He adjourned the Board (*s*): That He ſuſpended four other members of the Board (*t*): That He ordered the Commander in Chief to be put under arreſt, and brought to a General Court Martial (*u*).

The reader here perhaps may ſtop. Recollecting through what a maze of ſophiſtry We have already been compelled to follow the opponents of Lord Pigot; caſting his aching eye up to the number of this page; letting it drop again all languid on the laſt paragraph: ſeeing yet a body of near twenty new charges riſing up againſt us; ſurpriſed at his own patience in having read ſo much; deſpairing of perſeverance to go through the whole; curioſity will inſenſibly dye away, and he will throw aſide the book with a mixture of anger and diſguſt.—But let us not be too ſoon alarmed. Theſe charges may be reduced to four. In reciting them, I gave them in the order in which they occur in the Minutes: They conſiſt partly of declarations; and partly of acts. The declarations are—That all buſineſs originates with the Preſident; that the Preſident alone can agitate any queſtion; That the Preſident has a right to refuſe to put any queſtion; That the Preſident has the power of adjourn-

Theſe charges reduced to four.

(*n*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 357.

(*o*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 360. By this, however, as his Lordſhip explained his Self, He did not mean to prevent the members from entering their Minutes for the information of the Company.

(*p*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 367. (*q*) See Ibid. fol. 373.

(*r*) See Ibid. fol. 374. This charge his Lordſhip does not avow. Nor the next; though He claims the power of adjourning the Board.

(*s*) See Ibid. fol. 375. (*t*) See Ibid. fol. 382. (*u*) See Ibid.

ing

ing the Board, even againſt the opinion of the Majority; That no reſolution of the Board can be carried into execution without the concurrence of the Preſident; That no orders of the Board are an an act of Government without the name of the Preſident;—The acts done in conſequence of theſe declarations were—a refuſal to put certain queſtions propoſed by members of the Board; a refuſal to ſign certain orders which—without having been read at the Board—had—by inſtinct I ſuppoſe— been approved by a Majority of the Board; and laſtly, an actual adjournment of the Board by his "own authority." Now all theſe declarations and acts in point of *legality*, will be fairly juſtified; if, indeed, the Preſident (*x*) of Fort St. George be ſuch an integral part of the Government, that no act of Government can be done without him; that upon every act of Government He has an abſolute negative: For the reader will obſerve that He does not claim the power of doing any poſitive act of government without the advice of his Council, without the conſent of the major part of them; He does not pretend to form the Government without his Council: He ſays only that the Council is not the Government without the Preſident. In point of prudence theſe declarations and acts will be more than juſtified if the one were held forth, and the other exerted, on occaſions of urgent neceſſity; for purpoſes conſtitutional; and where the diſplay and the exerciſe of ſo delicate a power, could alone keep the major part of the Council from materially injuring the intereſts of their Employers.—In this queſtion then are included by far the greater number of this long ſtring of charges. The ſuſpenſion of Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke, will form a queſtion apart; the ſuſpenſion of the four other members of the Board, though, perhaps, an unavoidable conſequence of the preceding ſteps, will form the object of our third queſtion; that of the fourth, and laſt, will be the ordering of the General to be put under arreſt, and tried by a General Court Martial.

(*x*) By *Preſident* we would be underſtood all along to mean either the Governor, or his locum tenens lawfully appointed.

This

First Charge. Claim of a negative on every act of Government.

This then is the first charge: his Lordship, as President, asserted and exercised a right of putting a negative on every act of Government, which to Him should appear to be ruinous to the interests of the Company. This claim has been opposed upon various grounds. It has been opposed upon general grounds, as being tantamount to an arbitrary and dangerous assumption of all the powers of government: it has been opposed upon reasons drawn from analogy; as asserting a power not given to the President of any other political Body under the British Government: it has been opposed by reasons more directly in point; as being a breach of the original constitution of the Government of Fort St. George; an infraction of the standing orders of the Company; and a violation of the uninterrupted custom of the Board.

Is not tantamount to an assumption of all the powers of Government.

The right, which his Lordship claimed and exercised, is tantamount to an assumption of all the powers of Government.—If *that* right were vested in Him, in Him too "*the* power, the *whole* authority, of Government were vested." So We are gravely told; and upon the determination of this very question—"Is *the* power "of Government vested in the President *alone?*"—a man who miscalls his Self a fair stater of the Case, has made his Lordship's defence to depend (*y*). Is it then true, that the power of putting a negative upon every act of Government, involves in it an assumption of the *whole* power of Government? What a whimsical Government is ours? The Commons have this power, the Lords have this power, the King has this power. To *each* of them *exclusively* then belong the whole power, the whole authority, of Government. The King is an integral part of the legislative power: He can put his negative upon every act of legislation: it follows, that the *whole* power of legislation is the King's: the Commons are cyphers; the Lords are cyphers; the King is the sole legislator. Twice, I think, did it please King William, to exercise this ne-

(*y*) See Case, folio 6, 7.

gative power; to put his negative upon a popular bill: from that moment—let us hear and tremble—from that moment our conſtitution was ſubverted; the whole power of Government, from that moment, was veſted in King William and his ſucceſſors Kings of Great Britain. It was ſome comfort to Us, who are attached to the conſtitution of our country, that this ſubverſion of our conſtitution was hidden from our eyes. Thanks to a Monteſquieu, a Blackſtone, a Delolme, and others, who have, I know not how, acquired a certain reputation in the world; our ruin has been concealed from Us; They have had art enough to perſuade us, that this very power was one of the great bulwarks of our conſtitution. But, whatever preferment may do, wiſdom, it ſeems, cometh from the Eaſt. The more enlightened Mr. Floyer has diſcovered this power to be "ſubverſive of our Conſtitution (z)". For, ſubverſive of our Conſtitution, does He roundly aſſert to be "that doctrine," which vindicates to the Chief Magiſtrates of this country the power of putting a negative on every act of government (a). One uniform miſtake runs through all the Minutes of oppoſition; through all the reaſoning—if indeed it can be called reaſoning—of their coadjutor, the author of the Caſe. They have confounded a

(z) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 335.

(a) This muſt be Mr. Floyer's meaning, *if He mean any thing*. For if the doctrine were meant to apply only to the particular Government of Fort St. George, at Madraſs, what effect could that have upon the Conſtitution of *our country*? In fact, this was underſtood to be his meaning by his friends: for in a Minute of the Seven wiſe men, on the 2d of Auguſt, They ſay, that Mr. Dalrymple's "principles"—meaning his aſſertion of this negative power of the Preſident—"were "better calculated for the meridian of a deſpotic Government, than that of the "free one of which They are members." To which Mr. Dalrymple, in his reply, juſtly obſerves, "that no one has ever conſidered the Engliſh Government "to be deſpotic, although, by the Conſtitution, the King has a negative. And "hiſtory, He adds, proves the moſt *execrable* tyranny to be, when a faction gets "the power into their own hands." The ſeven wiſe men *altered* their Minute on ſeeing Mr. Dalrymple's reply; and, as for the latter, it was not inſerted among the Papers ſent home. But the reader may find it at the India Houſe. It is dated 11th Auguſt, 1776.

negative,

negative, with a poſitive power. Becauſe Lord Pigot declared, that He had a power of *preventing* the Council from doing acts of Government, which to Him appeared ruinous; They ſuppoſe Him to have declared, that, by his own authority, He had a power to *do* acts of Government, which appeared to Him beneficial. Yet no one of the declarations, no one of the acts We have cited under this head, were either a claim or an exerciſe of any poſitive power. To refuſe to put a queſtion; not to ſuffer a queſtion to be agitated; to refuſe to give a ſanction to inſtructions; to refuſe to ſign orders; are all acts of a negative power. The act of adjournment is a negative act. Its effect is only to cauſe a momentary ceſſation of the exerciſe of the powers of Government. It is ſurely one thing to ſtop a machine, when it ſtands on the brink of a precipice; another, and a very different, thing to ſeize the reins, and direct the path it ſhould purſue.

Nor is it a dangerous power.

What danger could ariſe from this negative power? Take the conſequences in the very words of Mr. Floyer. "By virtue of "this negative, no meaſures of the Majority can be deemed acts "of government, nor conſequently be carried into execution, with-"out the conſent of the Preſident:" Again, I aſk, where is the danger? The King enjoys the ſame power in England; in our Colonies the ſame power is entruſted to the repreſentative of the King. Is there a man in the kingdom, who would be mad enough to wiſh to ſee the King, or his repreſentatives, deprived of this power! The very arguments adduced to prove, that his Lordſhip claimed and exerciſed an improper, a dangerous, power, are the ſtrongeſt proofs that He claimed and exerciſed only that power, which ought to be entruſted to the Preſident. "The ſpirit of all free Governments," We are told, "has applied itſelf to place the power, which muſt "neceſſarily be lodged ſomewhere, in as many different hands as "poſſible (*b*)" Had this retailer of other men's maxims underſtood what He retailed, He would have known, that this is the very principle, upon which the friends of Lord Pigot would wiſh

(*b*) Caſe, fol. 7.

to defend his claims. By "that power, which muſt be lodged "ſomewhere," is meant the *ſupreme power*, the higheſt power which reſides in any given ſociety: by "different hands is meant—not as He ſeems to underſtand it, "in the hands of as many individuals "as poſſible (*c*)," but—in the hands of diſtinct perſons, or diſtinct bodies of men, who may prove a mutual check upon each other. Hence the different powers aſſigned to the different branches of our legiſlature. "England," He goes on "has always endeavoured "to make the Conſtitution of her Colonies reſemble that of the "mother country, as much as circumſtances would admit of." For that very reaſon, for the very purpoſe of bringing the Government of Fort St. George to any degree of reſemblance with the Government of the Mother country, this negative power ought to be lodged in the hands of the Governor. From his own principles, then, it follows, that the "preſumption of right is in favour" —not, as He ſuppoſes, of the Majority of the Council, but in favour—of the Preſident.

Nor a power which it is likely a Governor ſhould abuſe.

But the Governor may abuſe this power. It is poſſible He may. The King *may* abuſe his power. The Governors appointed by the King may abuſe their power. Becauſe it is poſſible they *may* abuſe it, muſt they, therefore, be deprived of it? Upon the King, upon the Governors appointed by the King, there are checks. Are there no checks on a Governor appointed by the Company? Has He no character to loſe? No fortune to injure? Has He no Maſters to control Him? Is He under no bonds? liable to no penalties? Is it nothing to be recalled; to be recalled with diſgrace? Are not theſe, then, checks ſufficient to prevent abuſe? Is there not, to the full, as much danger that a Council may abuſe the powers, with which They are inveſted? We have heard of *tyrants*, have We never heard of juntos, parties, factions? Trace

(*c*) "As many different hands as *poſſible*" ſays this great political lawyer. No man, who underſtood the maxim He retailed, could have couched it in terms ſo improper.

the

the tyranny of a ſingle man; trace the tyranny of factions: whoſe feet wade deeper in blood? Whoſe ſteps ſpread wider deſolation? The Governor, by refuſing to put a motion, may ſtop a ſalutary meaſure. And may not a Council preſs a ruinous, a deſtructive, meaſure? The one might be reſumed; the greateſt ill that could poſſibly ariſe from it, would be the delay, or the loſs, of a ſuperior advantage. The other cannot be recalled; might be productive of conſequences impoſſible to remedy. The Governor, it is contended, ought to put every motion. Suppoſe Mr. Haſtings to have been a member of the Council of Fort St. George. We know his ſentiments on the order for reſtoring the Rajah: He has declared them. "Tender as He is of cenſuring "the acts of his ſuperiors," He has ſtept out of his way for the expreſs purpoſe of paſſing a voluntary cenſure on this act of the Company. This Preſident of Fort William, in a letter written to the Commander of his Majeſty's ſhips in India, without any neceſſity, without any call, through mere wantonneſs, ſteps out of his way, to tell the Commodore, that He "condemns the whole "tenor of the Company's orders reſpecting Tanjore (*d*)". Suppoſe, therefore, Mr. Haſtings to have ſate at the Council Board of Fort St. George: his ſentiments, We muſt ſuppoſe, would have been the ſame; for, no doubt, He had well weighed the ſubject, ere He delivered them ſo freely, where the occaſion did not require them; ere He ſuffered his friends to publiſh them. As a member of the Council of Fort St. George, He would have thought his Self called upon to deliver them: In this ſituation We cannot ſuppoſe He would have been leſs bold; He would then probably have moved—"That all the orders of the Company, tranſmitted "by the Grenville, being *manifeſtly* founded on falſe informa-"tion (*e*), were null and void:" "That the Rajah ſhould remain "in priſon;" "That the Nabob ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of

(*d*) See this Letter in Original Papers, fol. 67, 68. The Letter, we ſee, is publiſhed by his friends.

(*e*) See Ibid.

"Tan-

"Tanjore:" "That the Board, in the name of the Company, "ſhould guaranty his poſſeſſion." Suppoſe theſe queſtions to have been moved. Would it have been the duty of the Preſident to put them; to take the votes of the Board upon them; to give his ſanction to inſtructions, to put his ſignature to orders, for carrying them into execution? Or would it have been his duty to refuſe to put them; to refuſe to take the votes on them; to refuſe to give his ſanction to ſuch inſtructions, to put his ſignature to ſuch orders? Had the Majority of the Board been mad enough to perſiſt in urging Him to put ſuch queſtions to the vote, would it have been his duty to continue, or to adjourn, the ſittings of the Board? That queſtions, like theſe, might be put, is not a gratuitous ſuppoſition. Were there not members of the Council at Fort St. George who did almoſt as much? Went almoſt as far? Were there not members who boldly declared the ſtanding orders of the Company to be null and void as though they had never been? Were there not members who urged the Preſident to put a queſtion for reſcinding a reſolution, paſt in direct obedience to the orders of the Company (*f*)? Is not the exerciſe of his negative power, on this very occaſion, among the crimes alleged againſt Lord Pigot? Is not this, at once, a vindication of his Lordſhip; and a proof, that the power, He claims, is a ſalutary power, neceſſary for the ends of Government?

Nor is it a greater power than is lodged with the Preſident of other political Bodies.

The arguments drawn from analogy, from a compariſon of the Government of Fort St. George with other political Bodies, are, if poſſible, ſtill more weak and inconcluſive. Arguments drawn from this topic are very apt to deceive us. To apply them with ſucceſs requires a finer eye, and a more delicate perception, than ſeem to have fallen to the ſhare of the adverſaries of Lord Pigot. One man compares the Preſident of Fort St. George to "the

(*f*) That againſt viſiting the Nabob and his ſons. *All* the ſtanding orders of the Company ſhould be ſacred to the ſervants of the Company. It is not the name of the ſhip which ſtamps validity on their orders.

Speaker

"Speaker of the Houſe of Commons," who, He ſays, "muſt be "in his chair before the Houſe can paſs a reſolution, make an "order, or decide on any queſtion that comes before them (*g*)."—Hence He infers, "that the Speaker is an *integral* part of the "Conſtitution of the Houſe."—And yet, He ſays, "He never "heard that the Speaker claims any authority over the Council in "which He preſides, by virtue of this *mere matter of form*." With the juſtneſs of this Gentleman's inference, with the extent and accuracy of his information, We have nothing to do. The compariſon is vicious throughout. There is ſcarce a ſingle point of reſemblance between the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons and the Preſident of Fort St. George. The Speaker is the ſervant, the creature, of the Houſe; elected, removable, by the Houſe. Except to queſtions of order, or in caſes of an equal diviſion, He has not the liberty of ſpeaking or voting in the houſe. What reſemblance between Him and the Preſident of a Couucil, who is not the ſervant or creature of that Council, not elected, or removable, by it; who may ſpeak to, who *muſt* vote upon, every queſtion! If arguments muſt be drawn from analogy, from a compariſon with the Preſidents of other political Bodies, let us ſearch for Bodies and Preſidents who bear ſome reſemblance.

The ſame power is entruſted to the Governors of our ſettlements abroad.

So long as the legiſlature of theſe kingdoms leaves to the Eaſt India Company their territorial poſſeſſions; ſo long as it leaves them the power of making war and making peace; of enacting laws for the good government of the inhabitants and ſubjects of thoſe territories; of appointing Governors and Councils: ſo long it delegates to them certain portions of the ſovereign power; ſo long, to certain purpoſes, the Eaſt India Company ſtand in the place of the Sovereign: ſo long, the Governors, appointed in conſequence of this delegated power, ſtand too in the place of Governors appointed by the crown. Now to all the Governors appointed by the crown, this

(*g*) See Caſe, fol. 9. And this, perhaps, is all this Gentleman knew of the Conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons.

power

power of putting a negative upon every act of Government is, I believe, without exception, entrusted. The mode of exercising the power is, indeed, different; but the power remains the same. The difference in the mode of exercising this negative power arises from a difference in the number of bodies, among whom all the powers of Government are distributed. It cannot, surely, be the exertion of a greater, or a more dangerous, power to reject, to put a negative on, the resolutions of *one* Council, than to reject, and put a negative, on the resolutions of *two* Councils, whose joint resolutions are the result of separate deliberations. Nor is the freedom of debate more clogged or hindered; nor do the means of information become more difficult of access to the constituents of a Council, because a Governor refuses to put a question to the vote, than they would be if He rejected, or refused his assent to, that question when determined: so long, especially, as in the former case every member of the Council is at liberty to give, to enter in writing, his deliberate opinion on the question proposed; to support it in a written Minute entered on record, by every argument his imagination can suggest, or his judgment approve.

In many instances to the Lord Mayor of the City of London.

In the formation of our establishments abroad, the legislature seems to have had its eye on the Corporations established at home. Let us look then at the first Corporation in the kingdom; at the Corporation of the City of London. Are there no instances, in which this same negative power is entrusted to the Chief Magistrate, to the President, of that Corporation? If an extraordinary Court of Common Hall be demanded, The question to be agitated must be specified to the Mayor. If He approve it, He summons the Court; if He disapprove it, He refuses to summon it. The particular business for which the Court was summoned is transacted: does any member introduce a new question? It is at the option of the Mayor to put, or to refuse to put it. If He approve the question, He puts it: if He disapprove it, He orders the sword to be taken up; and by his *own authority adjourns* the Court.

Upon

Upon theſe inſtances, however, I lay but little ſtreſs. Nor is much required. The ſlendereſt arrow, ſent by the feeble hand of a weak woman, would be more than ſtrong enough to overturn all the arguments drawn from this topic againſt Us. But there is another topic, from which arguments are drawn more directly in point. The claim is ſaid to be a breach of the original conſtitution of the Government of Fort St. George; an infraction of the ſtanding orders of the Company; and a violation of the uninterrupted cuſtom of the Board.

Nor is it a breach of the original conſtitution of Fort St. George.

It is not at Fort St. George alone that diſputes have ariſen between the Governor and Council. Mr. Haſtings, the Preſident of Fort William, has had diſputes with his Council. Theſe diſputes ſeem to have been carried very far. In the courſe of them Mr. Haſtings ſeems to have been inclined, at leaſt, to claim at Fort William the very powers He ſo ſtrongly reprobates at Fort St. George. The opinion of Counſel was taken. That opinion remains upon record. "We are of opinion" (ſay the Counſel) "that "by the conſtitution of this body (*h*), *as it ſtood before the late act* "*of Parliament*, the Preſident and Governor was an *integral and* "*eſſential part of it, without whom no Council could be legally holden*; "and on whoſe departure therefore it was, of courſe, diſſolved; "unleſs where He appoints a delegate, agreeable to what is ſtated "to have been the uſage: and We are farther of opinion, that, "whatever *was* the Conſtitution, in this reſpect, before, it is not "*altered*, but *confirmed*, by the late act of Parliament." This opinion was given by men of no common fame. At the foot of it ſtand the names of *Thurlow* and *Dunning*. Men, whoſe abilities the voice of envy has not ventured to queſtion; whoſe integrity the breath of calumny has never dared to pollute. Their walk in political life is not the ſame. Their coincidence, therefore, on a

Proved by the Opinion of Mr. Thurlow and Mr. Dunning on a ſimilar caſe.

(*h*) The Governor and Council of Fort William; the Conſtitution of which, *before the late act of Parliament*, was the ſame as that of Fort St. George.

point of political law, gives redoubled weight to their opinion (*i*). What then does this opinion declare? Is it "tantamount to "asserting, that the whole authority of Government is vested "in the President alone?" Neither that, nor any thing "tantamount" to that, does this opinion express, or imply. But this it implies; that the President has a power of putting a negative upon every act of Government. For if the President be an integral, an essential, part of the Council; if without Him no Council can be legally holden; if by his departure the Council be of course dissolved; it follows, I think, that He must be invested with that negative power for which We contend. If not, let the Majority of the Council shew a power, given in direct terms, to *compel* Him to subscribe to the resolutions, to give a sanction to the orders of the Majority; to *compel* Him to continue sitting at the Board.

Weight due to this opinion.

No one, I suppose, will deny that some weight was due to the opinion of men who hold so distinguished a rank in their profession (*k*). To the opinion of such men, so deliberately given, as much weight, at least, is due, as to the hasty assertions of a Stratton, and a Floyer. I have none of that bigotry, which "gives to the "Gentlemen of the Long Robe the same exclusive privilege of "judgement in this age, as in former ones was given to priests (*l*):"

(*i*) What must be the modesty of that man, who, professing "not to understand "the terms of this opinion," ventures, without a blush, "to answer the ob-"jections drawn from it." Yet why should He not? Though He have neither precedent, nor case, nor argument to oppose—"his friend"—Joe Miller—is at hand, He can furnish Him with a story; and a story too, that shall make the wits of twenty coffee-rooms hold their sides, and laugh at a Dunning and a Pratt; a Thurlow and a York. See Case, 7, 8.

(*k*) I do not believe there is a single man in this kingdom, save only the all-knowing author of the Case, who would not allow these gentlemen to be pretty good judges "of the great *outlines* of a *Constitution*:" or who would have described them under the illiberal terms of men, "whose heads were bewildered in the "quirks and quibbles of the law."

(*l*) See Case, fol. 7.

yet,

yet, in general, ſome deference is due to their judgement when they declare what *is* the law; yet, in this particular caſe, thus much, I think, every candid man, after peruſing this opinion, will allow: that, had Lord Pigot been miſtaken on the point of legality, He would at leaſt have been excuſable. But in truth neither does that opinion ſtand in need of ſupport from the reputation of thoſe who gave it: nor, had that opinion never been given, would his Lordſhip ſtand in need of *excuſe*. The exerciſe of this negative power is no breach of the ancient conſtitution of the Government of Fort St. George.

Proved by the Commiſſion of Government given to Gulſton Addiſon, 21ſt January, 1708.

To come at the ſpirit of the ancient conſtitution, We muſt have recourſe to the ancient commiſſions of Government. Let Us then look back to that period, which, in this reſpect, may be called *ancient:* to that period when the two Companies, by uniting their ſtock, firſt formed their *commercial* union. When this event took place, Thomas Pitt was Governor of Fort St. George. He continued in the ſame office for ſome time after that event. But it does appear from the records, that He had a new commiſſion as Governor. The firſt Commiſſion of Government iſſued for Fort St. George, after the commercial union of the Two Companies, appears, by the records, to have been granted to Gulſton Addiſon. It is dated 21ſt January 1708, and runs in the name of "the Court of *Managers* for the united Trade "of the Engliſh Company trading to the Eaſt Indies." A copy of this commiſſion lies open before me. Let us then examine the tenor of it; the powers which it gives to the Preſident.—"We do "make, conſtitute, and ordain the ſaid Gulſton Addiſon to be "Preſident of and for all our affairs on the Coaſt of Coromandel, "&c. and alſo to be our Commander in Chief of our Fort, &c. "and all and ſingular the Forts, &c. and all the forces, &c. within "the limits of the ſaid Preſidency: to *continue* in the *exerciſe* of the "ſame during our and their (*m*) pleaſure, *and* till the contrary

(*m*) The future managers of the united trade of the Company; the then managers being only appointed till the union ſhould be completed.

" thereof ſhall be ſignified under the ſeal of the ſaid Engliſh Com-
" pany. And to the end the ſaid Gulſton Addiſon may be *better*
" *enabled to order and manage all* our affairs, We do by theſe pre-
" ſents conſtitute and ordain, &c. &c. &c. to be ſecond of our
" Council; to be third, &c. &c. &c. of our Council, &c. And
" We do hereby give and grant unto our ſaid Preſident and Go-
" vernor Gulſton Addiſon, Eſq. and to our Council aforenamed,
" or the major part of them, *whereof our ſaid Preſident to be always*
" *one*, (the *whole Council being duly ſummoned*,) full power and au-
" thority to rule and govern all and every our factors and ſervants,
" under the ſaid Preſidency, &c. &c. and We, the ſaid Court of
" Managers do hereby order and require all our factors, ſervants,
" officers, and ſoldiers, within the limits of the ſaid Preſidency,
" and all the people and inhabitants, &c. to *conform, ſubmit, and*
" *yield due obedience unto Him, the ſaid Gulſton Addiſon, Eſq. our*
" *Preſident and Governor, and His Council accordingly*"—Here then is the *original* Conſtitution of the Government of Fort St. George. Is it of this Conſtitution that the claim of a negative power is to be called a violation? Surely by this commiſſion the Governor was an integral, an eſſential, part of the Council. Under this commiſſion it will not be contended, that the act of a Majority could be an act of Council without the concurrence of the Preſident: for to give validity to an act of that Majority, the Commiſſion declares the Preſident muſt *thereof always be one.* Under this Commiſſion no obedience could be due to any order of Council, till ſanctioned by the Preſident. For all the factors, ſervants, officers, ſoldiers, and inhabitants, within the limits of the Preſidency, were directed to ſubmit, and yield due obedience to Him, the Preſident and Governor, *and His* Council. Under this Commiſſion no Majority of Council, not the whole Council united, could claim a legal right to manage any of the affairs of the Company, without the concurrence of the Governor: for the Council are expreſsly called His Council; are declared to be appointed for the expreſs

end

end of better enabling *Him*, the Preſident, to order and manage *all* the affairs of the Company.

And by the Commiſſion granted to Edward Harriſon, 22 Dec. 1710.

When this Commiſſion was granted to Mr. Addiſon, the union between the two Companies was incomplete. It was only commercial. It was not till the year 1709, that a complete Union, commercial and political, took place. The firſt Commiſſion of Government, granted to a Preſident and Governor of Fort St. George, after this perfect Union of the two Companies, was to Edward Harriſon. It bears date the 22d of December 1710. It runs in the ſame words (*n*); conveys the ſame power to the Preſident: in the ſame expreſs terms it makes his conſent neceſſary to give validity to any order, effect to any act, of the Council.

Nor is it a breach of the preſent Conſtitution.

Thus far as to the *original* Conſtitution of the Government of Fort St. George. Not only the negative powers, claimed and exerciſed by Lord Pigot, were no breach of that Conſtitution, but they were warranted, granted, by it, in plain and direct terms. But, perhaps, the epithet "*original*" has ſlipt in by accident; perhaps it was uſed not to expreſs any particular idea, to mark any particular epoch, but merely to round the period: perhaps the claim and exerciſe of this negative power is ſuppoſed to be contrary, not to the original conſtitution, as it ſtood at the Union of the two Companies, but, to the preſent conſtitution, as it has been new modelled by ſucceeding Commiſſions of Government. Let Us then examine whether any material alterations have been made; whether any of the powers, given by theſe ancient Commiſſions to the Preſident, have, in more recent Commiſſions, been withdrawn or omitted. If no material alteration has been made; if no power, given by the ancient Commiſſions, has been poſitively withdrawn; if no clauſe of the ancient commiſſion conveying ſuch powers has been ſilently omitted, in more recent Commiſſions; or if ſuch

(*n*) Except only that for, "the Court of Managers," is ſubſtituted "the Court of Directors."

clauſe,

clauſe, ſo ſilently omitted, has been ſupplied by general letters; then Lord Pigot, acting under a recent Commiſſion ſo explained, had the ſame right to claim and to exerciſe this neceſſary power, as the Governors who acted under the ancient Commiſſions.

Proved by the Commiſſion to Mr. Haſtings 19 Dec. 1719.

One clauſe there is, which, occurring in the ancient, has in the modern Commiſſions been omitted. The clauſe I mean is this: "*Whereof our ſaid Preſident to be always one.*" It was firſt omitted in the Commiſſion given to Francis Haſtings; which bears date the 19th of December, 1719. How it came to be omitted does not preciſely appear. Moſt probably the omiſſion muſt be attributed to the negligence of ſome Clerk (*o*). That it paſt unnoticed may be attributed either to the inattention of the Court; or to the perſuaſion that this omiſſion could be of no conſequence, ſo long as the powers conveyed by this clauſe were given to the Preſident in ſo many other parts of the Commiſſion. Had it been the intention of the Directors to make ſo material a change in the Conſtitution of their Government, a queſtion of this importance muſt have been previouſly debated. No Minutes of ſuch debate, ſo far as I can learn, are to be found. To a new Governor and Council, who were to act under a Commiſſion intended to vary ſo materially from the ancient form of Government, rhe Court of Directors would certainly have pointed out this variation, would certainly have marked their intentions in terms preciſe and ſtrong. But no ſuch variation is pointed out; no ſuch intention is marked. On the contrary, in their General Letter of the ſame date, they plainly and ſtrongly mark their intention, that *no change* whatever ſhould be introduced. They order that "Mr. "Collet do ſurrender the Government to his ſaid ſucceſſor, Mr. "Haſtings, immediately upon his arrival; that the Preſident, Mr. "Haſtings, with the reſt of the Fort St. George Council, do take "upon Him the management of the Company's affairs, according

(*o*) Theſe words are ſtill retained in the Commiſſion of Bombay.

"to

" to the uſual cuſtom and our ſtanding rules."—Not the ſtrongeſt prejudice of the moſt rancorous faction can believe, that if the Company meant a uſual cuſtom, and a ſtanding rule of ſo much importance, to be ſet aſide, they would not only not direct the attention of their Government to this ſingular change, but would purpoſely divert their attention from it, by ordering, that their affairs ſhould be managed according to the uſual cuſtom, the ſtanding rules. This would be, indeed, to draw their ſervants into diſobedience—to uſe the polite phraſe of Mr. Stratton and his adherents—" *by a trick.*"

By the terms retained in all ſubſequent Commiſſions.

And though it be true, that theſe words were omitted in the Commiſſion granted to Mr. Haſtings, and in thoſe granted to his ſucceſſors, yet equally true it is, that in his Commiſſion, in all ſubſequent Commiſſions, in that of Lord Pigot among others, the ſame negative power is granted to the Preſident in many other parts of the Commiſſion. In all theſe Commiſſions the Preſident is " made, conſtituted, and ordained, Governor and Preſident of and " for all our (the Company's) affairs on the Coaſt of Coromandel, " &c. (*p*)"—" To execute *all and every* the powers and authorities " thereunto belonging."—" To continue in the ſame during our " and their pleaſure, and until the contrary thereof ſhall be ſigni- " fied under the ſeal of the ſaid United Company, &c. or under the " hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors, &c."—In all theſe Commiſſions the members of the Council are named; in all they are declared to be " *conſtituted and ordained, to the end that the ſaid* " *Preſident may be the better enabled to order and manage all the affairs* " *of Us the ſaid Company.*"—In all theſe Commiſſions " full power " and authority to rule and govern, &c. is given and granted to our " ſaid Preſident and Governor, and to our Council aforenamed, or " the major part of them; the *whole Council*, except ſuch who are " abſent, as Chiefs of ſubordinate factories, being duly ſummoned."

(*p*) In Lord Pigot's Commiſſion the words " factories, ſettlements, and coun- " tries" are added, which do not occur in the old Commiſſions.

"moned."—In all theſe Commiſſions "all our factors, ſervants, "officers, ſoldiers, people, and inhabitants, within the limits of "our ſaid Preſidency, are ordered and required to conform, ſub-"mit, and yield due obedience, unto Him the ſaid Preſident and "Governor, and His Council."—It would be to abuſe the patience, or miſtruſt the underſtanding, of our readers, ſhould we attempt to prove, that theſe words reſerve to the Preſident and Governor, in the plaineſt and moſt pointed terms, that negative power for which We contend.

By the Charters of Juſtice from George I. and George II. an. 1726 and 1753.

Twice, at leaſt, ſince this deviation from the original form in the Commiſſions, has the better ordering and managing of the Company's ſettlements in general been the object of royal attention. Two *general* Charters of Juſtice have been granted. The one by his late Majeſty, George I. in the year 1726; and the other by his ſon George II. in the year 1753. Theſe Charters were granted in conſequence of petitions from the Company. They make frequent mention of the Governor and Council; grant to them ſundry powers; veſt in them ſundry truſts; direct them to do ſundry acts. Here then We may expect to find an authentic declaration of what, at thoſe times, was the opinion, what the wiſh and intention of the Company, reſpecting the negative power of their Governor and Preſident. Had the Company conceived it dangerous to entruſt this power in the hands of their Governor and Preſident; had they conceived it to be a breach of the conſtitution of Fort St. George; had they not wiſhed and intended that He ſhould exerciſe this power; they would ſurely have beſought their Majeſties by no means to give it. If it be given, that alone will be an unanſwerable argument, that, neither to their Majeſties nor to the Company, it appeared dangerous to entruſt this negative power to the Governor and Preſident: that the Company did not conceive it to be a breach of the Conſtitution of Fort St. George: that it was their wiſh and intention that their Governor ſhould have

have and exercise this power. By these Charters the Mayor's Court is constituted; the first Mayor and the first Aldermen are named: the first Sheriff is named; the election of future Mayors, of future Aldermen and Sheriffs is regulated. All these officers are directed to take the oath of allegiance; and certain oaths of office. These oaths are to be administered by the *Governor or President*; or, in his absence, by the two Seniors of the Council. The election of a Mayor is directed to be annual: two persons are to be elected by the Aldermen, and, within three days after their election, presented to the Council; of the two elected, one is to be chosen by the Governor or President, and Council, or the major part of them; whereof the *Governor or President*; or, in his absence, the Senior of the Council residing at Fort St. George, *is to be one* (*q*). Powers are given, in case of misbehaviour, to remove any of the said Aldermen; in case of death, removal, or disqualification, to elect other fit persons in their room; in case of a refusal to serve, to approve and consent to the fine and forfeiture imposed by the Mayor's Court; powers are given to elect Sheriffs annually, or occasionally in case of death, absence, or removal; to hear and determine appeals from the Mayor's Court; to hold Quarter Sessions of the Peace, Courts of Oyer and Terminer, and of Gaol Delivery; and finally, to make bye-laws, rules, and ordinances, and to impose reasonable fines and penalties. All these powers of filling up vacancies in the Court of Aldermen; of displacing delinquents; of ratifying the fines imposed on recusants; of electing Sheriffs (*r*); of hearing and determining appeals; of holding Courts of Quarter Sessions, of

(*q*) This power was given by the Charter of 1753.

(*r*) See the printed Charters of the Company, fol. 368—399, and folio 406—456. As to the election of Sheriffs in the first Charter of 1726, the words "whereof the Governor, &c. to be one" are omitted; in that of 1753 they are inserted, in the clause which provides for the *annual* election, and again omitted in case of occasional elections. It may not be amiss to add, that the same idea runs through the Constitution of the Mayor's Court. In all proceedings of consequence, issuing summons, trying and determining suits, awarding warrants of execution, &c the Mayor, or in his absence, the senior Alderman, is to be one of the acting Magistrates.

Oyer and Terminer, and of Gaol Delivery; of making bye-laws and enforcing them by proper ſanctions—all theſe powers, I ſay, are granted to "the Governor or Preſident and Council, or the major part of them;" with this expreſs proviſion—"whereof the "*Governor or Preſident*, or, in his abſence, the Senior of the Coun-"cil, then reſiding at Fort St. George, *to be one*." Moreover, to the Governor and Preſident alone is entruſted the power of adminiſtering oaths to the members of the Council in their capacity of Juſtices of the Peace, and Commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer. To Him alone is entruſted the power of approving and ſigning the table of fees to be taken in the Mayor's Court; nor can the table ſo approved and ſigned be altered, but by the act of the Court, with the approbation of the Governor or Preſident, *and* a Majority of the Council; or by the Court of Directors. To Him alone, or, in his abſence, to two of the Council, is entruſted the power of adminiſtering oaths to the Mayor and Aldermen, as Judges of the Court for granting probates of wills, and letters of adminiſtration. Finally, in all cauſes of appeal, to the Governor or Preſident is given the caſting vote (*s*). Reviewing the powers granted by theſe Charters to the Governor and Preſident; conſidering that the Charters were given at different periods; both of them after the alteration in the Commiſſion of Government (*t*); could Lord Pigot doubt whether the Company had always conſidered, and ſtill continued to conſider, the Governor and Preſident as an integral and eſſential part of the Council? Could he doubt, whether, by the Conſtitution of the Government, He had a right to exerciſe that negative power for which We have contended?

By the Commiſſion given to Lord Pigot.

The Commiſſion of Lord Pigot, We have obſerved, in various paragraphs, conveyed to Him this negative power. The Council are called *his* Council: they are appointed "*to the end* that *He*

(*s*) Yet the author of the Caſe caſe can boldly appeal to the Charters granted *ſince* the Revolution, as militating againſt the negative power for which We contend. This it is to quote what one has never read. See Caſe, fol. 8. Note.

(*t*) The Charters were granted in the years 1726 and 1753. The alteration took place in the year 1719.

"may

" may be better enabled to order and manage *all* the affairs of the " Company." " The power and authority to rule and govern all " the factors, &c. are granted to Him *and his* Council aforenamed, " or the major part of them: all being duly ſummoned, except " the Chiefs of ſubordinate factories. To Him *and* to his Council " aforenamed, or the major part of them, all the factors, &c. are " commanded to conform, ſubmit, and yield due obedience." It could ſcarcely enter, one would think, into the head of any man who underſtands common grammar, or common ſenſe, to ſuppoſe " Him *and his* Council" to mean " *Him, or a Council without Him:*" " to put any other conſtruction on " *Him and his Council aforenamed,* " *or the major part of them:*" than " *Him and his Council, or Him* " *and the major part of his Council.*" Becauſe to conſtrue the words otherwiſe, would be to ſuppoſe his concurrence neceſſary to give validity to an act of the *whole* Council; and unneceſſary to give that validity to an act of a *part only* of the Council.

By the diſmiſſion of Governors Bourchier and Wynch.

But had his Lordſhip been diſpoſed ſo ſtrangely to miſconſtrue words ſo plain and deciſive, the difference in the puniſhments inflicted on the Governors Bourchier and Wynch, and on their reſpective Councils, would of neceſſity have brought Him back to a right conſtruction of the words; to a right conception of his own reſponſibility; and to a conſequent conviction, that the negative power, for which We contend, was lodged in the Governor and Preſident. Governor Bourchier and his Council adopted a ſyſtem repugnant to the views of the Company, by ſupporting the Nabob in the Myſorean war. This conduct excited the warmeſt reſentment of the Company: How was that reſentment expreſt? " They " *not only* ordered Mr. Bourchier to quit the Government, but " ſeverely reprimanded the members of his Council for the part " They had taken in the tranſaction (*u*)." " Diſregarding the " orders and inſtructions of the Company;" " unreſtrained by the " example of former offenders;" Governor Wynch and his Council went on " to tread in *their* ſteps." The ſame reſentment was

(*u*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 10, 11.

excited: in the very ſame manner was that reſentment expreſt. Governor Wynch was commanded "forthwith to *reſign* the Go-"vernment: the Council was ſeverely *reprimanded* (x)." I will appeal to the underſtanding of any unprejudiced man, for the conſtruction which Lord Pigot muſt, of neceſſity, have put upon this conduct of his Employers. In both inſtances He ſaw a difference, a very ſtriking and material difference, in the degree of the puniſhments inflicted on the Preſidents, and on their reſpective Councils: He muſt therefore have inferred, that his Employers ſaw a proportionate difference in the degrees of criminality to be imputed to theſe Preſidents and to their reſpective Councils. He could not—I will boldly aſſert it, becauſe I am ſure every man muſt feel the truth of it—without imputing to his Employers a total departure from every principle of common honeſty and common juſtice, He could not ſuppoſe They would inflict a ſo much heavier puniſhment, where They did not ſee a proportionably greater degree of criminality. From what circumſtance could this difference in the degrees of criminality ariſe? It could only ariſe from this; that the Preſident poſſeſſed alone, what no one member of the Council, what nothing ſhort of the Majority of the Council, poſſeſſed; the power of checking theſe criminal tranſactions, of ſtopping the formation of this deſtructive ſyſtem. And this is the very power, for which We contend. If a Preſident have not this power; if He have no more than his ſingle voice, He cannot be more reſponſible; He cannot be more criminal; He therefore cannot deſerve a ſeverer puniſhment than any other individual member of the Council.

By the General Letter ſent out with Lord Pigot; to the Council, and to the Nabob.

In this conſtruction of his own Commiſſion and of the conduct of the Company, his Lordſhip muſt ſtill farther have been confirmed by the orders tranſmitted with Him in the General Letter to Madraſs. Theſe orders are emanations from the ſame power, impreſt with the ſame authority, as the Commiſſion of Government. By theſe orders, therefore, it was his duty to interpret any thing which might be obſcure in the Commiſſion. Through-

(x) See ibid.

out

out the whole of these orders He saw a plain distinction made between his own responsibility, and the responsibility of any individual member of the Council. "Upon the seasonable exertion of "his abilities, the Company declared They relied in no small de- "gree for success *(y)*:" He it was, or in case of his death or absence, the eldest Counsellor acting as President, who was to "execute the orders of the Company;" and "their instructions "relative to Tanjore (*z*):" with Him the Council was *not to fail to* "*concur* in carrying these orders and instructions immediately into "execution (*a*)." The same idea runs through the letter transmitted, at the same time, to the Nabob. "From Lord Pigot's "known affection to the person and family of the Nabob; from "his approved fidelity to the Company; from his acknowledged "abilities, the Company confidently expected the most faithful "services: and trusted those services would be attended with the "most happy consequences (*b*)." "He it was, who was so per- "fectly acquainted with the sentiments of the Company, respect- "ing the proceedings of their Servants: He, it was, who was "*instructed* by the Company to *restore good Government*; to *introduce* "*a regular system* (*c*)." Interpret his Lordship's Commission—and surely it is but fair to interpret it—by these letters, and is it possible to conceive that the Company considered the President merely as an individual member of the Council? Yet take away the negative power for which We contend, and what is He more than any other individual member of the Council?

Nor, after all their researches, were the Gentlemen in opposition able to produce any standing order of the Company, of which the claim and exercise of this negative power could be construed to be an infraction.

Nor is it an infraction of the standing orders of the Company.

The orders which were thought to condemn this power were produced. Let us then examine them. The first was dated on the third of January, 1678. It runs in these words:

These orders recited.

(*y*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 10.
(*a*) Ib. fol. 29.
(*c*) Ib. fol. 32.
(*z*) Ib. fol. 28.
(*b*) Ib. fol. 31.

"What-

3d Jan. 1678. "Whatever ſhall be agreed on by the Majority, ſhall be eſteemed the order by which each one is to act: And accordingly every individual perſon, even the Diſſenters themſelves, are to perform their parts in the proſecution thereof; and, in ſo doing, they do their duty, and muſt not be blamed for the event."

9th March, 1702. The next was given on the 9th of March, 1702. And it ſays, "We do ſtrictly enjoin, that all our affairs be tranſacted in Council, and ordered and managed as the Majority of the Council ſhall determine, and not otherwiſe, upon any pretence whatſoever, &c."

More ancient than orders rejected by the faction as obſolete. Let the Reader attend to the dates of theſe orders. Let him recollect that oppoſition had ridiculed the idea of being bounden by an order of ſo *ancient* a date as the year 1714: had declared an order given then, and confirmed by ſome of their Selves, within a few years of the preſent time, to be obſolete, null, and void, as though it had never been; becauſe, forſooth, times and circumſtances were changed: Let Him then ſee this ſame oppoſition reciting and relying upon an order, paſt near *forty years* earlier than that which they had before declared to be obſolete: And when times and circumſtances were ſo very different, that the *preſent united* Company did not exiſt, was not even in embryo: Let Him ſee this ſame oppoſition reciting, and relying upon, another order, of *twelve* years earlier date than that which, on account of its antiquity, they had boldly ventured to reprobate; and paſt when times and circumſtances were different; whilſt the union between the two Companies was incomplete; whilſt the preſent united Company was unformed, was at beſt in embryo. From this compariſon of their conduct, on theſe two occaſions, let the Reader form his judgment on the fairneſs of their arguments; on the candour of their proceedings; on the reſpect they pay to the orders of the Company; on the attention we owe to their citation of theſe orders.

I do

I do not mean to urge the antiquity of these orders, as a proof that they have lost their binding force. I mean only to point out the inconsistency of the faction. But neither of these orders are applicable. What is the first order? An answer to certain doubts which had arisen in the breast of some of the servants of the Company. Whether the persons who in Council *dissented* from an order past by a Majority, were bounden to do, or justified in doing, *acts* in conformity to that order, from which they had so dissented. To these doubts the order recited is a plain and direct answer. An order regularly past by a Majority of our Council is to be to *all*, even to the Dissenters from that order, a rule of conduct, "the "order by which each one is to act." But what is this to the present question? The present question is, *what is an order* of Council? Is it an act of the Council, or of a Majority of the Council *alone?* Or is it the joint act of the President and his Council, or of the President and a Majority of his Council? On this point no doubt had arisen when the order recited was given. To this, therefore, it gave, it intended to give, no answer. He who sees in this order a definition of what was necessary to constitute an order of Council, a determination that a Majority of the Council can make an order of Council without the President, sees what neither is, nor was intended to be, expressed, or implied in it.

The first order not applicable.

In reciting the second order the opposition at Fort St. George made use of the legerdemain of Mr. Hastings. They omitted the first part, which declared the occasion of the order; and the last part they supplied by a convenient *&c.* The whole of the Order runs thus:

The second order mutilated by opposition.

"This goes by the Tavistock, and being now upon *a new Founda-* "*tion* and Establishment, it will be expected that We give particular "directions for the management of our *new Affairs:* Wherefore, "in the first place, having heard of some *irregularities* in some of "the factories of *either* Company, We do strictly enjoin, that *all* "*our* affairs be transacted in Council, and ordered and managed as "the Majority of Council shall determine, and not otherwise, upon "any

The order recited at length.

"any pretence whatſoever; and though We hope You'll all be "unanimous in the purſuit of our *common intereſt*, yet if on any "occaſion it happens that your votes are equally divided, the ſame "muſt be determined by *Lot*; as We by our Charter are directed "in ſuch caſes to do."

This order not applicable.

This order is clearly as inapplicable as the former. In the firſt place it was the act of a temporary government, which, at its foundation, was made to expire at a certain and no diſtant period. The order, we ſee, was calculated, was expreſsly declared to be calculated, for that temporary foundation and eſtabliſhment. It is not pretended, that the mode of deciſion preſcribed in caſe of an equal diviſion, was adopted as a ſtanding rule. It cannot therefore be applied as expreſſive of the preſent rule of government. Nor is the general direction any thing more than a direction, not to tranſact the affairs of the Company out of Council, nor without the conſent of a Majority of the Council. That is, it reſerves its *negative* power to a Majority of the Council. But it does not take away his negative power from the Preſident. Had Lord Pigot followed the example of Mr. Floyer,—that Mr. Floyer I mean who was Governor at Fort St. David's, in the year 1749— Had he, with the advice of a ſingle member of the Council, in concert with an Officer of the Crown, without acquainting the Board, determined on an expedition; ordered troops to march; made a treaty with an Indian Prince; this order might have been brought to condemn him: for then he would have tranſacted the affairs of the Company out of Council: but ſurely it can never be brought to condemn him for aſſerting, that he is an integral part of the Council: that any act done without his concurrence, is likewiſe done out of Council (*d*).

(*d*) Mr. Floyer and Mr. Prince, in concert with Mr. Boſcawen, determined on the firſt expedition againſt Devi-Cotah; and ordered troops to march, without conſulting the Board. Without conſulting the Board, They concluded the treaty with Pertaub Sing, which put an end to the ſecond expedition againſt him. See Conſultation, Fort St. David, 10th April, 1749, and 30th June, 1749. India Houſe.

We

Nor the act of Parliament.

We have ſeen with what zeal the Governor-general and Council of Bengal, the Nabob and his agents, have preſt into their ſervice the Treaty of Paris, and the Act for regulating the affairs of the Company. I ſhould not have been much ſurpriſed had *both*, on this occaſion, been preſt into the ſervice of oppoſition. Only one of them, however, was preſt into it. The Treaty was left in quiet repoſe. Not ſo the act. From that Mr. Stratton deſired to *record*, as He calls it, ſome extracts. He begins by the preamble. Here it is ſtated "that the ſeveral powers and authorities granted by Charters "to the united Company, &c. have been found by experience not to "have ſufficient force and efficacy to *prevent various abuſes*, &c. "as well at *Home* as in *India*, &c. that it is therefore become high-"ly expedient, that *certain farther regulations*, better adapted to "their preſent circumſtances and condition, ſhould be provided "and eſtabliſhed."—And did Mr. Stratton and his adherents then conceive, that the Legiſlature of Great Britain had entruſted it to *their* wiſdom to fix the powers and authorities, which ſhould be ſufficient and efficacious, to prevent abuſes? Did they, in the drunkenneſs of new power, then dream, that to *their* diſcernment the Legiſlature had left it to deviſe the farther regulations, which were become ſo highly expedient; which were to be better adapted to the preſent circumſtances and condition of the Company? Not all the invectives that maddening Faction ever vomited againſt any Parliament, would be half ſo injurious to the honour of Parliament as this ſuppoſition. Let us then conclude they did not make it: Let Us, out of charity, believe that this extract was recorded merely to ſhew that Mr. Stratton could read, and write, and record.—But He recorded too an enacting clauſe. What is its purport? That "if any difference of opinion ſhould "ariſe upon any *queſtion propoſed* in any conſultation, the Governor-"general and Council ſhall be bound and concluded by the opi-"nion and deciſion of the Major Part of thoſe preſent:" That in caſe of an equal diviſion, "the Governor-general, &c. ſhall have a "caſting voice, and his opinion be deciſive and concluſive." Of what Governor, of what Council is this Act ſpeaking? Speaks it

of the Governor and Council of Fort St. George at Madraſs? No. It ſpeaks of the Governor and Council of Fort William in Bengal: It regulates the proceedings of a government which itſelf had created and modelled; which has, which was intended to have, ſcarce any reſemblance with the governments then exiſting in India. As well might this wiſe Counſellor have recorded an Act for the better government of Guernſey, or of Jerſey, or of Virginia, or of Maryland.

Neither the orders nor the act come up to the caſe in point.

Another thing which ſeems to have eſcaped the attention of our *Recorder*, may perhaps deſerve to be noticed. Neither the orders, nor the act, come up to the caſe in point. All of them ſuppoſe that which had not happened in the caſes where Lord Pigot exerciſed this negative power. They all ſuppoſe a queſtion *to be put*, a queſtion to be *propoſed*: In that caſe, and in that only, the Council is to be bound by a majority: the Governor is to be concluded by the opinion of the major part. This was the very line which Lord Pigot purſued. Whenever a queſtion had been regularly put, had been legally propoſed; He ſuffered his Self to be bounden and concluded by the opinion and deciſion of the majority *(g)*. Lord Pigot never pretended that He was not concluded by the opinion of the Board, when that opinion was fairly given, upon a queſtion regularly put, legally propoſed. He pretended only, and I think We have ſhewn He had a right to pretend, that no queſtion could be regularly put, or legally propoſed, but by the Preſident. He pretended, and I think We have proved He had a right to pretend, that He was the ſole Judge, whether a queſtion ſhould be put or propoſed.

(g) In compliance with the opinion of the Majority, his Lordſhip conſented to reconſider the claims of Paul Benfield. He conſented that motions of Mr. Mackay ſhould be put before his own. He conſented that his own previous queſtion on one of the good old man's motions, ſhould be thrown out. He ſigned the letter to the Nabob and to the Rajah, written in conformity to the reſolution of the Majority, and ſo throughout. Whenever a queſtion was regularly put, legally propoſed, He abode by the deciſion of the Majority.

Now,

Now, indeed, We are told, that the power of diſſolving or of adjourning the Council without the conſent of the majority, is taken from the Preſident: that the departure of the Governor from the Board, leaving a majority of the *whole* Board ſitting, ſhall not amount to a diſſolution or adjournment of the Council: that the orders given by ſuch a majority, ſo left ſitting, ſhall be obeyed, as if they had been authoriſed and ſigned by all the members of the Council. And to ſupport this opinion We are referred to extracts from the Company's General Letter, dated the 31ſt of January 1776. I do not mean to call in queſtion the power of the Company to fix what *ſhall* be the conſtitution of their Governments at any future period: but neither their orders, nor all the powers of human nature, nor Omnipotence itſelf, can make that to *have been* the conſtitution at any given period, which is now paſt, that was not *then* the conſtitution. Though Mr. Haſtings and his Council conceived the recital of theſe orders "would take away any poſſi-"bility of doubt, which Lord Pigot might entertain, that the whole "powers of Government exiſt in a majority of the members of the "Council (*h*):" yet from my mind, I own, they would not remove the ſhadow of a doubt, had I entertained any doubts upon the ſubject. Clearly as *they* diſcover the ſentiments of the Company, in the words of theſe orders, yet to my underſtanding, they appear to be no more applicable to the caſe of Lord Pigot, or to the proceedings of his Council, than they are to the caſe of the Pope, or to the proceedings of a Conclave of Cardinals.

Orders by the Lioneſs not applicable. And why.

Theſe orders contain a rule for the *future* conduct of the perſons to whom they are addreſſed. They are dated the laſt day of January 1776. They were received at Bengal in the month of September. They did not reach Madraſs till the beginning of October. Lord Pigot was arreſted in the month of Auguſt (*i*). Was

Becauſe not known in India till after Lord Pigot's arreſt.

(*h*) See their letter to his Lordſhip, dated 10th of September 1776. India Houſe.

(*i*) In one of the hand-bills, We have had occaſion to mention, theſe orders are recited in a note. The note refers to a tranſaction in 1771. The orders are given without a date, either of time, or place. The reader, therefore, is left to

this order, then, unpublished, unknown at Madrafs, till the month of October to be a rule of conduct to Lord Pigot in the month of July and Auguft? Whatever be his Lordfhip's abilities, whatever his acquirements, whatever the expectations his employers had formed, yet he never pretended, nor did his employers expect Him, to poffefs the choice gift of fecond fight. The fpirit of prophecy is not an effential qualification for a governor of Fort St. George.

Becauſe they are directed to Bengal *alone.*

Nor, had He been endowed with the choice gift of fecond fight, had He been poffeffed of the fpirit of prophecy; had He kenned thefe orders from afar, as they failed upon the ocean; was He bounden to obey them. They did not regard Him; they were not addreffed to Him; they are not general Orders for all the Presidents and Councils of *all* the Presidencies; their operation is fpecially confined to the Governor-general and Council of Bengal (*k*). It was not furely for Lord Pigot, it was not for the Council of Fort St. George to extend to their Presidency, orders which

conclude, that thefe orders, iffued in January, tranfmitted to Madrafs in October 1776, refpecting Bengal alone, were known and in force at Madrafs, in the year 1771. What muft be that cauſe which forces its defenders to artifices fo mean and illiberal!

(*k*) The firft part of thefe orders fays—"no meeting of our Council, &c. fhall "be diffolved or adjourned by the authority of our Governor-general, *or of any* "*Prefident for the time being* without the conſent of a Majority, &c." The words—"of any Prefident for the time being"—do not mean the Prefident of *any other fettlement*, but any perfon who by the death, abfence, or removal of the Governor-general, may be the *temporary Prefident of the Council at Bengal.* This is clearly confirmed by the laft part of the orders, where the fervants of the Company in *Bengal alone* are commanded to obey the orders iffued by a Majority, after the Prefident fhall have *withdrawn* from Council and left a Majority of the whole Board fitting. It has been obferved of our Juries, that the man who can faft the longeft may always dictate the verdict. On the fame iffue the Company feem to have put the power of their Governor at Bengal. Then only can a Majority of the Council fit and act *without* the Prefident, when the Prefident fhall have *withdrawn* his Self from Council, leaving a Majority of the whole Board fitting. But fuppofe Him to *ftay* at the Board; and *refufe to put a queftion*: What is to be done then?

were

were directed and confined to another. Indeed, it required only a moment's reflection on the difference of the reſpective conſtitutions of the two Governments, to diſcover the grounds upon which the Company proceeded; to diſcover why this order was given to the Council of Fort William, and why it was not given to the Council of Fort St. George. The conſtitution of the government of Fort William had been lately new modelled by Parliament. Among other material changes the number of Counſellors had been reduced to four. This diminution of the number of the Council was a proportionate addition to the Governor's ſhare of weight and authority. In a Council of four, there was leſs danger of cabals and factions, than in a Council of twenty. There would perhaps be ſo much the leſs occaſion for placing in the hands of the Governor, that power, which was intended to check the pernicious effects of cabals and factions. The Preſident of a Council of four had only to gain a ſingle member to his ſide, and He would make a reſpectable figure in the oppoſition to the other three. He might, therefore, be tempted to a light and wanton abuſe of this negative power: the Preſident of a Council of twenty would be more fearful of uſing this power; would never venture to uſe it, but when He felt the ground upon which He ſtood to be fully defenſible. The order therefore which *might* (*l*) be wiſe and politic, when confined to Bengal, would have been abſurd and impolitic, if extended to Madraſs.

Yet once more and we have done. Though the words of the Commiſſion of Government be apparently for Us; though no order of the Company can be found againſt us; uſage, uninterrupted cuſtom, no bad interpreters of law, are clearly againſt Us. So at

Nor was the exerciſe of this power a violation of uſage.

(*l*) I do not mean this as any approbation of the order, even though confined to Bengal. It was made, as laws are ſometimes made by more reſpectable bodies—"upon the ſpur of the occaſion"—in the event, perhaps, it will appear, that, in excluding one inconvenience, a door has been opened to thouſands. What has happened at Madraſs will ſtand in the place of a hundred arguments to prove the pernicious effects, which muſt reſult by an extenſion of this order to a Government, compoſed of ſo numerous a Council as that of Fort St. George.

leaſt

leaſt We are told. And with ſuch an air of confidence are we told it, that we looked, with a trembling anxiety for a whole chain of precedents: accuſtomed as We have been to the bold tone of unſupported aſſertion, ſtill We could ſcarce have thought it poſſible, that no one precedent ſhould have been produced. In individuals, *habits* are produced by repeated acts. Of repeated acts too, uſage, cuſtom, are the reſult in ſocieties. Yet not a ſingle inſtance could oppoſition produce, where this power had been denied by the Board to any Preſident; had, by any Preſident, been renounced: no one inſtance, where the Board had denied, that the Preſident was an integral, an eſſential, part of the Council: where the Board had ever pretended to do an act of Government without the Preſident. Mr. Floyer, indeed, "fully explained"—as He tells Us—"a circumſtance to the Board, which was thought"—by his Self, no doubt—"pertinent to the matter in debate (*m*)." And to what does this circumſtance, ſo fully explained, ſo pertinent to the matter in debate, then amount? It proves, that in certain debates about the reſpective powers of the Select Committee, and the Council—not of Fort St. George at Madraſs, but—of Fort William at Bengal, Mr. Cartier, the then Governor and Preſident, and two other members were throughout *in the Minority*, and diſſented to the meaſures taken by the Majority: that the Majority iſſued *their* orders, which were duly obeyed as acts of government: that the Preſident refuſed to ſign the General Letter, which accompanied their proceedings: that the Company approved the proceedings of the Majority, and deprived Mr. Cartier of his Government (*n*). This tranſaction, We have ſeen, did not paſs at Fort St. George; no minute of it appeared upon their proceedings. To them there-

(*m*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 335.

(*n*) This is the third inſtance where the Company have made this remarkable diſtinction between the puniſhment inflicted on a Governor, and the cenſures paſt on members of the Council. To prove the ſuperior reſponſibility of a Governor, this circumſtance is pertinent. For this purpoſe Mr. Floyer did not adduce it. To prove that a Council can do an act of Government without the Governor, it is not pertinent. For this purpoſe, however, Mr. Floyer did adduce it.

fore

fore it could not be a rule of conduct. In their public capacity they could not know any precedent of which They had not public notice. How was is notified to them now? By no authentic minute of the proceedings at Bengal: by no extract from the Archives of the Company. What proof had They, that *any* ſuch tranſaction paſt? The aſſertion of Mr. Floyer: what authority, that the relation of it was, in all its circumſtances accurate, and complete? The infallible memory of Mr. Floyer. Waving, for the ſake of argument, theſe inſurmountable objections; what does this tranſaction prove? It proves, that, for once, a Governor with a Minority of his Council, of which Minority Mr. Floyer was one (*o*), miſtook the line which He ought to have purſued; and which a Majority of the Council did ſee and purſue: this cannot be thought pertinent; that a Majority of one Council is right at one Board, in one year, on one occaſion, can be no proof that a Majority of another Council, muſt be right at another Board, in another year, on another occaſion. It proves that the Company diſplaced a Governor, with whoſe conduct They were offended: neither can this be thought pertinent; for here was no queſtion about the power of the Company to approve, or diſapprove; to continue, or diſplace a Governor: To the deciſion of the Company Lord Pigot entreated that his claims might be left. It proves, that upon a queſtion regularly propoſed, a Governor diſſenting from the meaſure, was bounden and concluded by the deciſion of the Majority: nor can this be thought pertinent; Lord Pigot, We have ſeen, allowed his Self to be concluded in the ſame manner, upon all queſtions regularly put and legally propoſed. It proves, that the queſtion having been thus regularly put and legally propoſed, and, therefore, being finally determined by the deciſion of a Majority, orders conformable to this deciſion, were iſſued and obeyed: this ſurely is not pertinent; or if it be pertinent, it is to the juſtification of Lord Pigot: for mind: a Majority had decided, that Colonel Stuart

(*o*) There are in India, we ſee, as well as in other places, men who have the happy talent of being always in the wrong, ſide with which party They will.

ſhould

ſhould go as commandant to Tanjore; a Majority had likewiſe decided, and previouſly decided, that Mr. Ruſſel ſhould go as Reſident to Tanjore: if, therefore, orders *muſt* be iſſued conformable to every deciſion of a Majority, orders ſhould have been given for the departure of both theſe Gentlemen, each to his reſpective ſtation: and this was the very thing for which Lord Pigot contended. It proves, that a Governor refuſing to ſign a General Letter, the Majority did, what Lord Pigot, on another occaſion, found it neceſſary to do, tranſmitted that Letter in their own names, for the information of their Maſters. To the partiality even of Mr. Floyer this will not appear pertinent. But does it prove, that a queſtion can be regularly put, legally propoſed, by any other perſon, than the Preſident? Does it prove, that by a Majority of Council, *without, againſt* the direction of the Preſident, an order of Council, for carrying into execution a reſolution of their own upon a queſtion *not regularly put, not legally propoſed*, can be iſſued, or ought to be obeyed, as an act of Government? Does it prove that orders, under *theſe circumſtances*, were iſſued and duly obeyed? Does it prove, that the *iſſuing* of orders, under theſe circumſtances, and enforcing obedience thereto, was *the* meaſure of the Majority, which the Company approved and confirmed? This might have been pertinent to the matter in debate. But this it does not prove. Pertinent, at leaſt, it would have been, had the tranſaction, as We before obſerved, been duly notified, vouched by a better authority than the *memory* of Mr. Floyer; had it paſt in the Council of Fort St. George; had the tranſaction, and the Company's approbation, ſtood recorded in the Minutes of the Council of Fort St. George. This poor, feeble, ſingle, inapplicable circumſtance, joined to an opinion forſooth of Mr. Vanſittart, is all that oppoſition could produce to prove a *conſtant* uſage, an eſtabliſhed cuſtom. Not a ſingle caſe, not even a ſingle opinion, could They produce to prove a Majority of Council to be the *Board*, without the Governor: not a ſingle inſtance of any reſolution of the Majority being carried into execution, without the concurrence of the Preſident.

To

To obtain a clear knowledge of the Conſtitution of the Government of Fort St. George; to fix the powers of the Governor; to aſcertain whether his Lordſhip was right in aſſerting a power to put a negative on every act of Government; We have endeavoured to point out what would be the effects of this power. We have proved, that it is not, as it has been wrongfully declared to be, tantamount to an aſſumption of all the powers of Government; that it is not a dangerous power; not a power, which a Governor would be apt to abuſe; nor a greater power than that which is entruſted to the Preſidents of other political bodies. We have ſeen the opinion of two Gentlemen of the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank in the law aſſerting the Governor to be an integral, an eſſential, part of the Council; We have examined the Commiſſions of Government, ancient and modern: there We have ſeen this power expreſsly conveyed to the Governor; We have examined the royal Charters of Juſtice; there too, with the ſame power We have ſeen the Governor inveſted: We have examined the Commiſſion of Lord Pigot; the General Letter ſent out with Him from the Company; their Letter, tranſmitted at the ſame time, to the Nabob: in the Commiſſion we have ſeen this negative power expreſsly conveyed; in the Letters We have ſeen Him mentioned in terms, which would be perfectly inapplicable, unleſs He were ſuppoſed by the Company to ſtand in that degree of reſponſibility, which, of neceſſity, involves the power for which We contend: We have noticed the ſeverer degree of puniſhment inflicted by the Company on Governors, than on members of the Council, who have diſregarded their inſtructions: and from all We have inferred the actual exiſtence of this power in the Governor, and the conſequent legality of Lord Pigot's exertion of it. We have examined the ſtanding orders of the Company; We have examined the uſage of the Board, as recited by oppoſition: and ſo far from finding the power to be a violation of either, We have ſeen oppoſition reduced to the ridiculous dilemma, either of allowing the legality of the power, or of oppoſing it by the appli-

Recapitulation of the proofs of legality of this power.

cation of acts and orders to the Government of Madraſs, which were expreſsly confined to the Government of Bengal; thereby tacitly avowing, that their own records, for a hundred years, could not furniſh a ſingle inſtance, where a Majority of Council, without the Preſident, was ever conſidered as the Board.

Conſequences of the legality of this power.

I have dwelt the longer on eſtabliſhing the legality of this negative power, becauſe, upon this point, will turn the defence of the vigorous meaſures his Lordſhip was compelled to adopt, firſt againſt Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke: and afterwards againſt the other members of the faction. Having thus clearly, as We conceive, eſtabliſhed, that his Lordſhip's claim was legal and conſtitutional: Having clearly, as We conceive, proved, that an attempt of the Majority to act as a Board, without the Preſident; to do any act of Government without his concurrence, is a manifeſt violation of the Conſtitution of the Government, unſupported by any order of the Company, contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the Board: the defence of his Lordſhip's ſubſequent proceedings will be compriſed in a very few words.

Occaſions on which this power was exerted.

In point of prudence We have ſaid the declarations, by which this power was aſſerted, the acts in which it was exerciſed, would be more than juſtified, if the declarations were made, and the acts done, on occaſions of urgent neceſſity; for purpoſes conſtitutional; at a moment where the diſplay, and the exerciſe, of ſo delicate a power, could alone be ſufficient to keep the major part of the Council from materially injuring the intereſts of his Employers. On this point little, or rather nothing, is left for Me to ſay. During the courſe of this defence, the occaſions, the purpoſes, the times, on, and for, which his Lordſhip diſplayed, or exerciſed, this power, have been attentively examined: more, I perſuade myſelf has been ſaid, than was neceſſary to juſtify the prudence with which it was exerted. His Lordſhip's own words would, perhaps, have rendered all other juſtification unneceſſary.

"On

Lord Pigot's own apology.

"On the 9th July" (ſays He, writing to the Court of Directors) "the Majority of Seven gave in a Minute againſt your Preſident, "for firſt, Having aſſerted a right to adjourn the Council. Se- "condly, Having, in the civil department, refuſed to put a pre- "vious queſtion, although deſired by many of the Board, who "had not time to conſider of the propoſition laid before them. "Thirdly, Having refuſed to put a queſtion regularly moved for "reſcinding a former reſolution of Council. And fourthly, Having "aſſerted that a reſolution of the Majority of the Board cannot be "carried into execution without his concurrence."

"Your Preſident thinks it proper on this occaſion to obſerve, "that He thinks the preſervation of order and propriety in Go- "vernment, makes it neceſſary for the power of adjournment to "be in the Preſident; without which, a faction with ſtrong con- "ſtitutions, by relieving each other, might force the Preſident, "who is obliged to remain in the chair, into whatever meaſures "They pleaſed. Were your Preſident to adjourn, to evade any "charge, either againſt him Self or his friends, there might be "ground of complaint: *not for the adjournment*, but the *motive* of "it: But in tranſacting the important public concerns of your "Government, if the members of the Council, inſtead of aſſiſting "your Preſident with their advice, are to aſſume the reins, and "determine what is fit in their private meetings, and come to "Council only to dictate to your Preſident, it is impoſſible for your "affairs to eſcape ruin. *Your Government muſt be ſupported.*

"Your Preſident thinks He has a right to require of every mem- "ber of the Council, an opinion upon ſuch matters as He may "lay before them; and, therefore, that it is improper to admit of "a previous queſtion, which may deprive Him of that opinion."

"The forms and rules of popular aſſemblies are not at all appli- "cable to a Council-Board; and, if they were introduced, inſtead

" of promoting buſineſs, would impede it, and throw every thing " into confuſion. In the inſtance referred to, your Preſident did " not require a haſty deciſion; He declared his readineſs to ſit as " long as They pleaſed; but was convinced the members of the " Majority merely urged delay, becauſe it was ſuppoſed Mr. Daw- " ſon would not attend another Council; and that, by poſtponing " the buſineſs, your Preſident would be deprived of that Gen- " tleman's ſupport, in a meaſure, which appears of infinite conſe- " quence to your affairs; namely, ſending Mr. Ruſſell to Tan- " jore. Mr. Dawſon, ſeeing the dilemma to which your Preſi- " dent was reduced, in a very becoming manner declared, He " would not turn his back on *your* ſervice, but would readily at- " tend on a future day. And your Preſident muſt do Mr. Dawſon " the juſtice to ſay, that He ever received his ready ſupport in the " adminiſtration of your affairs."

" 3dly. Your Preſident cannot avoid remarking, that, when " He refuſed to put Sir Robert Fletcher's motion for reſcinding " the reſolution of Council of 17th June, againſt members of the " Council viſiting the Nabob, He took notice, that it was *almoſt the* " *only queſtion* which He would not put; but that the reſolution " was entirely conformable to your orders, to ancient uſage, and " for good government; that reſcinding the reſolution would be a " breach of your orders, and tend to involve your affairs in diffi- " culties for no reaſon; and that intercourſe with the country Go- " vernment was a privilege which *You* had been pleaſed to veſt in " your *Preſident ſolely*; and, therefore, was what the Council " *could not* agitate with *propriety*. However, in the Minute above " referred to, the Majority declare, The reſolution of 17th June " is *legally*, though not in the *uſual* form, reſcinded: which your " Preſident cannot admit."

" Your Preſident, from an attentive conſideration of the *Com-* " *miſſion* of Government, thinks his Council are *appointed the better*

" *to*

" *to enable Him to manage your affairs*; He thinks *He can do nothing* " without a Majority of his Council; and He thinks ſo great a " deference is due to that Majority, as to *require* the Preſident to " *concur* with them on *ordinary* occaſions; but not in *diſobedience to* " *your commands.* On the contrary, He thinks his *duty* to the " Company obliges Him *not* to concur with a ſettled Majority, who " uniformly purſue meaſures *ruinous* to your *intereſts*, and *contrary* " to your *orders.*" In theſe arguments, and in this concluſion, we believe every candid reader will concur with his Lordſhip.

Narrative reſumed.

The courſe of our Narrative has been unavoidably interrupted by the conſideration of the objections made to his Lordſhip's conduct by the Nabob, by Comera, and by the Council. Before we proceeded to a particular detail of the event, which we only hinted at the cloſe of the laſt ſection, it was neceſſary to conſider and to anſwer theſe objections. 'Till they were anſwered, the Reader will eaſily perceive, it would have been impoſſible to form an impartial judgment on the ſubſequent proceedings at the Board. We will now return to our Narrative. We muſt only recal to the memory of our Reader, that on the 28th of June the Preſident propoſed the eſtabliſhment of a Chief and Council at Tanjore, ſubordinate to the Preſidency of Fort St. George: that this motion was debated and rejected on the 8th of July: that on the ſame day Mr. Ruſſell was appointed as Reſident at Tanjore, without a Council: that on this day too, Mr. Dawſon took his leave of the Board: that on the 9th of July a letter, which Colonel Stuart had addreſſed to the Board on the 25th of June, and which was then ordered *to lie upon the table*, was taken into conſideration: that, without any reaſon aſſigned, it was reſolved to reſcind the late appointment of this Gentleman to Velore; and, in direct oppoſition to the requeſt of the Rajah, to recall Colonel Harpur from Tanjore, and appoint Colonel Stuart to ſucceed Him: that, oppoſition being determined to prevent Mr. Ruſſell proceeding to Tanjore, to which place we have ſeen he had been appointed Reſident, on the 26th,

June 28.

July 8.

July 9.

July 26.

26th of July, a minute to precipitate the departure of the Committee of Circuit was abruptly introduced by Mr. Jourdan, and, without having been read, ſeconded by Mr. Mackay: that by a majority of Seven to Four it was reſolved, that the Committee ſhould proceed immediately to the Northern Circars: that, this motion being carried, the Preſident recommended Mr. Jourdan, One of the Faction of Seven, to ſupply the vacancy in the Committee, occaſioned by the departure of Mr. Dawſon: that Mr. Jourdan was excuſed from going upon this ſervice, becauſe He did not *chuſe* to go (*p*): that on
July 29. the 29th of July, Mr. Mackay, another of the Faction of Seven, who, as well as Mr. Ruſſell, had been expreſsly appointed by the Company, was likewiſe excuſed, becauſe the good old man ſhivered at the dangers, and trembled at the fatigue He muſt undergo in a
July 30. journey to the North: that on the 30th of July Sir Robert Fletcher ſent to the Board a paper, which He called, Inſtructions for Colonel Stuart: that it was reſolved to give out in public orders the appointment of Colonel Stuart: that the Colonel was directed to
Auguſt 1. hold his Self in readineſs to proceed: that on the firſt of Auguſt the propoſal of the Preſident, that the Committee ſhould commence their operations by the inveſtigation of the Jaghire Lands, was, without any reaſon, againſt every reaſon rejected: that, with an indecency unparalleled in the annals of the Company, a peremptory, and an early, Day was fixed for the departure of the
Auguſt 5. Committee (*q*): that on the fifth of Auguſt the Preſident made a motion, the moſt fair and candid that a man, conſcious of his own integrity, could make; a motion, that two members of the Board, uninfluenced by party, unconcerned in any of the diſputes which

(*p*) Mr. Jourdan voted on this queſtion. I do not object to this as irregular; but only to ſhew, that neither was it irregular in Mr. Ruſſell to vote in his own appointment to Tanjore.

(*q*) The day was altered on the 5th of this month, from the 15th to the 31ſt of Auguſt, though Mr. Ruſſell gave ſufficient reaſon why He could not be ready 'till the beginning of October.

had

had lately diſtracted the Councils of the Board, ſhould be called up from the ſubordinate Preſidencies to aſſiſt with their advice, in a moment ſo critical; on an occaſion ſo emergent: that this motion was rejected: that on the ninth of Auguſt, the Preſident requeſted that Mr. Ruſſell, in conſequence of his former appointment, might proceed to Tanjore, if it were but a few days, to preſerve the appearance of conſiſtency in the proceedings of the Council, and to quiet the alarms of the Rajah: that this requeſt was likewiſe rejected: that, the appointment of a Reſident remaining ſtill unreſcinded, it was reſolved Mr. *Ruſſel* ſhould *not* go to Tanjore.—With theſe Facts and theſe Dates before Him, the Reader will be competent to judge of the ſubſequent proceedings of the Preſident and Council, during the few Days his Lordſhip continued to preſide at the Board.

Auguſt 9.

Near three weeks had elapſed ſince Sir Robert Fletcher had ſubmitted to the Board his firſt inſtructions for Colonel Stuart. So far as it appears, they had lain unheeded on the table. Nor indeed would it have been eaſy to have made them the ſubject of debate. To a Pruſſian Serjeant going, at the head of a recruiting party, into the territories of Hamburgh or of Dantzig they might have been *fit* and ample enough. But Colonel Stuart was an officer of rank. He was about to take charge of a Fort, which commanded the capital of an ally; this ally was but newly reſtored to his dominions; much had he yet to fear from the ſecret intrigues of his enemies; He had therefore put his fort, and his capital, and his kingdom, under the protection of the maſters of the Colonel. To the ſituation of ſuch an ally much delicacy was due; much attention to the cuſtoms, manners, religious prejudices of his people. Theſe ſhould have been among the objects of Colonel Stuart's inſtructions. Sir Robert indeed ſeems to have been aſhamed of his firſt "*paper* of inſtructions;" and therefore ſent a ſecond "*paper* "of inſtructions" which he preferred to the other (*r*). The reaſon

Auguſt 19. New inſtructions for Colonel Stuart.

(*r*) Papers, vol. I. folio 355.

of

of this preference He beſt can tell. In words, I believe, They are rather more fertile; of matter, equally barren (*s*).

Lord Pigot refuſes to ſign them unleſs Mr. Ruſſell was permitted to go to Tanjore.

No ſooner had the letter which contained this inſipid Paper of inſtructions been mentioned, than the Preſident renewed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, His earneſt wiſh, that Mr. Ruſſell might proceed to Tanjore, if it were only *for a few days*; appealed to the diſtreſſes of the Rajah, painted in a letter read this very day at the Board, as an unanſwerable argument for the propriety of the meaſure; urged the neceſſity of a compliance with His requeſt; and repeated with a manly firmneſs, his determined reſolution, never to conſent to Colonel Stuart's departure for Tanjore till Mr. Ruſſell who had been appointed before Him, was likewiſe ordered to proceed (*t*). To an acquieſcence with this requeſt of the Preſident, nothing could induce the faction. The appointment of *a* Reſident was not reſcinded; but, that appointment remaining unreſcinded, it was again determined that Mr. Ruſſell ſhould not proceed (*u*). The Preſident again repeated that till it was agreed Mr. Ruſſell ſhould proceed, He would never give His ſanction to any inſtructions to Colonel Stuart. Theſe inſtructions had not yet been read at the Board, nor entered on their Minutes. Mr. Floyer moved, that They ſhould be taken into conſideration. Firm in His reſolution the Preſident declared, that for the reaſons already recited, He would not, at that time, put the queſtion. This refuſal and the right of the Preſident to put any queſtion, appearing to Mr. Stratton

(*s*) They ſaid nothing of the attention to be paid to the *religious prejudices* of the Tanjorines; nothing of avoiding *all money tranſactions* with the people of the country: Nothing in ſhort that could poſſibly fatigue, or diſoblige, or in any way *gener* the worthy Colonel.

(*t*) See Papers, vol. I. folio 356.

(*u*) Mr. Stratton, the Reader will remember, had originally voted for Mr. Ruſſell's appointment. Yet both on the 9th of Auguſt, and on this day, without any reaſon aſſigned, he voted againſt his proceeding to Tanjore in conſequence of that appointment.

of

of the higheſt conſequence, He moved an adjournment of the Board (*x*).

On the next day the Board aſſembled again. A letter to the Rajah was read and approved (*y*). Some other current buſineſs paſt. And then the queſtion about taking the Draught of Inſtructions to Colonel Stuart into conſideration was again revived. The queſtion was moved by the *good old veteran*, and ſeconded by Mr. Jourdan. Lord Pigot continued firm and unſhaken: He declared He would not ſuffer the queſtion to be now *agitated* at the Board (*z*). Finding the Preſident immoveable, ſeeing Him reſiſt with equal firmneſs, the motion of Mr. Mackay, and the requeſt (*a*) of Mr. Stratton, one of the members in oppoſition (*b*) ſeemed inclined to collect the ſentiments of the Board (*c*): The ſentiments of the faction were entered on the Minutes. Not yet had the Inſtructions been read at the Board: August 20th perſiſts in the ſame reſolution.

(*x*) See ibid. fol. 357.

(*y*) In this letter the reſolution of the Board, reſpecting the crop of the current year, was announced. A copy of the act of Parliament 13 Geo. III. c. 63. with a reference to the paragraph relating to legal intereſt, by which the Rajah might ſee what Parliament conſidered as *juſt claims*, was likewiſe announced. When it pleaſed Mr. Stratton and his adherents to *diſpatch* this letter, they kept back, as We have ſeen, the act.—Why they did ſo, they can tell Us; and the Reader probably will be at no loſs to underſtand.

(*z*) The meaning of this term being miſunderſtood, His Lordſhip on a ſuggeſtion of Mr. Dalrymple, explained it. He did not object, He ſaid, to the members entering their *Minutes* on *record* for the information of the Company. He meant only that the queſtion ſhould not be put to the vote.

(*a*) Mr. Stratton *requeſted* the Preſident to *put* the queſtion, becauſe "it" (to put it) "appeared to Him conſiſtent with the Conſtitution and the rules of the "Service." Who doubted it? But was it *neceſſary* by the rules of the Service to put it? Was not a refuſal to put it, to the full, as conſiſtent with the Conſtitution?

(*b*) Mr. Floyer.

(*c*) He aſked Mr. Stone for his ſentiments; but as there was no queſtion before the Board, neither He, nor any of thoſe who maintained the authority of the legal Government by a Preſident *and* Council thought it neceſſary to give their opinions.

but the faction did not want to read them: whatever they were, it was predetermined to approve them: accordingly, without ordering them to be read at the Board, the faction "gave their *hearty* "*assent* to them;" "thought them very proper:" "approved them." Having thus predetermined on their propriety, They went one ſtep farther. Without directly moving, They reſolved, that a letter to Colonel Harpur, to deliver over to Colonel Stuart the command of the Garriſon of Tanjore, would *be written of courſe*. The Inſtructions were copied. A draught of ſuch a letter prepared. Here again the Preſident ſtopt them: again He declared He would not put His name either to the Inſtructions or to the Letter, unleſs upon the terms He had ſo often propoſed: from a principle of duty; from attachment to good order and government; from ſentiments of friendſhip to the different members of the Board; He warned them not to proceed any farther; He reminded them, that, without His concurrence, neither the Inſtructions, nor the Letter, could be acts of Government; He ſuggeſted the difficulties, to which thoſe men would expoſe their Selves who ſhould attempt to act under ſuch orders.—Yet a while the faction pauſed. They were ſenſible of their danger; ſcarcely prepared to meet it. Another conference with the ſick General, another nocturnal cordial from the Nabob, were, it ſhould ſeem, neceſſary to work their madneſs to its proper pitch. The Council was again adjourned: and the next day but one was appointed to ſhoot the gulph (*d*).

Difference in the powers claimed by two conſtituent parties of the Government.

Here too let Us pauſe a moment. Let Us attentively conſider the ſituation of the two conſtituent parts of the Government of Fort St. George. On the one hand We ſee the Preſident, one of the conſtituent parts, claiming and exerting a power, which We have proved to be legal, of putting a negative on the proceedings of a Majority of the Council, the other conſtituent part of the

(*d*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 357—367.

Board;

Board; this power, legal as it was He exerted only *conditionally*; on this occaſion He was ready to wave it, if the others would conſent to wave the exerciſe of the ſame power on a ſimilar motion: On the other hand, We ſee a Majority of the Council exerting the ſame legal power of putting a negative on a motion recommended by the Preſident, and ſupported by a Minority of the Board; ſo far, in point of legality, they ſtand upon the ſame footing. Both are within the line, which deſcribes their reſpective powers. In this only do they differ. The Preſident was ready to make advances, which the other ſullenly refuſed; ready to conſent to a meaſure, which He diſapproved, on condition, that They would conſent to another meaſure which might prevent the ill effects He feared from the former. But, moreover, We ſee one of the conſtituent parts, a Majority of the Council, taking a moſt alarming ſtride; ſtepping beyond the line which deſcribes its power; annihilating the power of the other conſtituent part; aſſuming to itſelf, *all the power* of Government; claiming a right *to do acts of Government* without the concurrence of the Preſident. To this material difference the Reader will be careful to attend. Upon this difference will, in no ſmall degree, depend the judgment He will form of the events of the two ſucceeding days.

In the objects They purſued.

The objects, which the reſpective parties had in view, differ as widely as the powers they reſpectively claimed. The object which the Council purſued could not be *eſſential* to the ſervice of their employers; was not of immediate importance; no poſſible danger could ariſe from poſtponing it. That an able, that an unexceptionable Officer actually commanded at Tanjore, was allowed on all hands; on all hands was it allowed, that no other *oſtenſible* reaſon occurred for the immediate recall of that Officer, ſave only the immediate gratification of the wiſhes, ſhall We call it, or the vanity, of Colonel Stuart. Be the talents of the Colonel, be the merits of the Colonel, what they may; be they great as his warmeſt friends ſuppoſe them; be they infinitely greater ſtill, great as his Self conceives

ceives them; no dangers had ariſen, no circumſtance taken place, which called for the immediate exertion of theſe ſuperior talents; which demanded this immediate deference to theſe tranſcendent merits. The object which the Preſident had in view, if it was of any importance, was of immediate importance. And ſurely it was of great and immediate importance to quiet the fears of the Rajah; "to excite in Him firm ideas of dependence on the friendſhip of "the Company;" to convince Him, that the man expreſsly deputed to reſtore Him had not loſt the influence neceſſary to maintain Him on the throne. To this difference in the objects purſued by the contending parties the Reader will likewiſe attend. On this difference the judgment He is to form will likewiſe, in ſome degree, depend.

In the probable motives of their conduct.

But why was this Majority ſo obſtinate in refuſing their aſſent to the meaſure propoſed by the Preſident, when, by giving their aſſent, They enſured ſucceſs to their own favourite object? All that his Lordſhip aſked, was to carry into execution a prior reſolution of a Majority of the Board. I would not wiſh to ſuggeſt any motive. A good, a worthy, motive the utmoſt ſtretch of my imagination cannot ſuggeſt. To ſuggeſt a bad, an unworthy motive, is repugnant to my feelings. But there lies before Me a Copy of a Letter from Mr. Stratton to the Chairman (*e*): In this letter Mr. Stratton takes upon Him to ſuggeſt the moſt unworthy motives for the conduct of Lord Pigot: "To give You a clue, ſays He, to "this part of his Lordſhip's conduct, I muſt refer You to a former "Letter of mine, explaining the reaſons why He found him Self "*neceſſitated* to that arbitrary uſurpation of Government, which "occaſioned his ſuſpenſion from it. I mean the *fear of the diſcovery* "*of thoſe facts* alleged againſt Him during his journey to Tanjore; "which, if diſcovered, muſt involve Him in ruin."—What are theſe facts? No body knows. Who alleged them? Nobody. By what

(*e*) Dated December 15, 1776. India Houſe.

witneſſes

witneſſes are they proved? by what circumſtances ſupported? None. But Mr. Stratton's imagination can eaſily ſupply facts, and witneſſes, and proofs.—But Lord Pigot did not ſucceed: He is ſuſpended, impriſoned: his enemies triumph: They "have aſſumed "the reins of government (*f*)." The facts then are come out. Proofs have been found. No: the lion is dangerous even in his cage. "He has preſerved at Tanjore the fear of his power (*g*)." By what art, what magic, did He preſerve the fear of his power, when He had loſt the enjoyment of his liberty? "He treated the "ſuſpenſion as a daring act of rebellion"—And truly, his Lordſhip did not greatly miſconceive the matter—"which would be "ſpeedily puniſhed by the *ſuperior powers* at Bengal (*h*)."—Thoſe powers—if ſo they muſt be called, ſuperior or not—gave a deciſion in favour of the faction. Now then theſe atrocious facts are dragged to light:—Now his Lordſhip's credit muſt be loſt. Not yet—his credit is ſtill retained: ſtill his power is feared. Not a ſingle fact is diſcovered. But facts there muſt be; for otherwiſe his Lordſhip's "conduct will appear to Mr. Stratton unac-"countable (*i*)." The man who thus wantonly ſuppoſes unworthy motives, ſuppoſes illegal facts, would have no right to complain, if, taught by his example, We too were to ſuppoſe facts, ſuppoſe motives. But, in truth, in this conteſt, We feel our inferiority; To this taſk We own ourſelves unequal. We will content ourſelves with ſtating facts, that are already diſcovered, already acknowleged: and from thoſe facts We will leave it to the reader to decide upon the motives. In the firſt place then, no fact, ſave only thoſe We have conſidered and juſtified, had been alleged *againſt* Lord Pigot, during his journey to Tanjore, his reſidence there, or his return to Madraſs. There is then no ground for ſuppoſing, that He feared the diſcovery of any fact; or that his refuſal to ſign the orders and inſtructions for Colonel Stuart was ſuggeſted by that fear. In the next place, his Lordſhip did not abſolutely

(*f*) See ibid.
(*g*) See ibid.
(*h*) See ibid.
(*i*) See ibid.

refuſe

refuſe to ſign theſe inſtructions and orders; He offered to ſign them conditionally. Colonel Stuart then might have gone to Tanjore. Nor would the condition of his going have affected Him; have abridged his liberty of enquiring into facts; of ſearching for proofs; of collecting witneſſes. Let us ſee how the facts ſtand on the other ſide. A fact, and a very important fact, a fact of no leſs moment than the giving of pernicious counſel to the Rajah had been publickly alleged, had been proved, againſt an *emiſſary*, a ſervant of a man known to be intimately connected with the faction; the man had received a public puniſhment for it. The Maſter of this man was again going under the ſanction, under the avowed protection of the faction: the emiſſary, the ſervant of this man was to bear Him company. Here then is one material difference. The faction abſolutely, unconditionally, refuſed to let Mr. Ruſſell proceed.—This is another material difference. Let the reader now determine, whether of the parties was more afraid of diſcovering facts.

Second Charge, Suſpenſion of Meſſrs Stratton and Brooke.

Keeping conſtantly in view this difference in the powers claimed, and in the objects propoſed, by the two conſtituent parts of the Council; keeping conſtantly in view too the probable motives, by which their reſpective conduct was influenced; let Us examine the tranſactions of the 22d Auguſt. And this will bring Us to the ſecond charge alleged againſt his Lordſhip; namely, the ſuſpenſion of Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke.

Auguſt 22. Minute delivered by the Majority.

No ſooner was the Council aſſembled, than the faction of Seven delivered a Minute, in which his Lordſhip's refuſal to put the queſtion for taking the inſtructions of Colonel Stuart into conſideration is declared to be "inconſiſtent with the rules of the ſervice, "and tending to ſubvert the Conſtitution:" in which his ſubſequent Declarations and Minutes are declared to call for expreſſions of their aſtoniſhment; in which They poſitively deny "the con-"currence of the Preſident to be neceſſary, to conſtitute an act of "Govern-

"Government: declare the Preſident to be as much bounden by "the orders of the Majority; as much obliged to ſubſcribe thoſe "orders; as much obliged to aſſiſt in carrying them into execu-"tion; as any other member of the Council;" affirm the inſtructions "to become, by the approval of the major part of the mem-"bers, a complete act of Government." They then go on to attribute the late adjournments of the Board to a ſpirit of forbearance, "to their own unwillingneſs to haſte," "to their willingneſs to "give time." They would, perhaps, have been nearer the truth had They aſcribed them to their own fears; to the waverings of a ſpirit prone indeed to revolt, but trembling at the danger of revolting. Having, at laſt, ſummoned boldneſs to do, what They had long wiſhed to do, They open their plan of operations; They lay down a new ſcheme of Government; and declare "that in caſe of "the Preſident's refuſal to put a queſtion propoſed (*k*) by any "member, it ſhall be"—They do not ſay *it is*, but that it *ſhall* be —"the duty of the *Secretary* to put that queſtion;" "and that a "refuſal to anſwer *ſhall* be deemed a breach of the Company's "*ſtanding* orders."—Meaning, I ſuppoſe, that the Company *ſhould*, at ſome future period, not only paſs ſuch orders; but, at the ſame time, declare they *had* been paſt, and *were ſtanding orders* before the Company had thought of them (*l*).

Of a Minute, which the ſerious conſequences it was intended to produce could alone ſave from ridicule; of an impertinent citation of Mr. Vanſittart's opinion, by which that minute was ſupported; Lord Pigot's propoſal to let the matter reſt till the pleaſure

(*k*) There is a fallacy in this phraſe. "*A queſtion propoſed by any member*," is I conceive a different thing from what is meant, in a language either of Parliament or of the Company, by—*a queſtion propoſed in a Conſultation*." The latter, I conceive to mean, "a queſtion regularly propoſed:"—that is "a queſtion propoſed "by the *Preſident*;" "a queſtion legally before the Board:"—The former means any thing, which a Mackay, or a Floyer, or a Stratton, may *wiſh* to have legally propoſed; legally before the Board.

(*l*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 368, 369.

Lord

of the Company could be known, rejected.

Lord Pigot did not condeſcend to take any notice. He briefly recapitulated what He had already ſaid upon the ſubject; expreſſed his ſatisfaction at ſeeing, as He thought, that no Gentleman would, "at preſent, urge the proſecution of the buſineſs;" "his hopes, "that He might be ſo fortunate as to meet the Gentlemen inclined "to let the matter reſt till the pleaſure of their honourable Maſters "could be known:" and this conduct He recommended it to them to purſue (*m*).—But things were now come to a criſis. All lenient meaſures were rejected. The ear of the adder was deaf. The ſtill voice of reaſon could not be heard. Yet, on the one hand, We have ſeen, the departure of Colonel Stuart was not of immediate importance to the Company, the ſervice could not ſuffer by delay; but the ſervice muſt ſuffer, the deareſt intereſts of the Company muſt be endangered, by the continuance of theſe unſeemly diſputes in the Council: it was allowed, on the other hand, that the propoſal of his Lordſhip "would be the means of effecting ſo *deſir-* "*able* an event, as a reconciliation of the unhappy differences in "opinion, which had but too long already prevailed among the "members of Government (*n*)." To what then attribute the unhandſome, the obſtinate rejection of this candid propoſal? For They did reject it. The ſervice of the Company was not then the

(*m*) See ibid. fol. 370. The Author of the Caſe accuſes Lord Pigot of having totally "diſregarded the ſuperintending juriſdiction of the *Council of India*." Both on this occaſion and on the ſubſequent ones of ſuſpenſion, He would have had all referred to the deciſion of "*the Supreme Council of India*." Let Him turn to the act of Parliament which created the Council of Bengal. He will not find there any mention of—"*the Council of India*"—"*the Supreme Council of India*"—"*the* "*Supreme Council.*" It is a creature of the man's own imagination. The act created a Council of one ſingle Preſidency: to this Council it gave no kind of authority over the other Preſidencies, except in the ſole caſe of making treaties, war or peace, under certain circumſtances, with the Indian Princes. Lord Pigot muſt have been mad to refer diſputes to them which they were not competent to decide; and which, it will appear at a proper time, Lord Pigot had good reaſon to ſuppoſe *one*, at leaſt, of that Council had fomented.

(*n*) Mr. Floyer's Minute, fol. 371.

object

object of the faction: To Mr. Stratton and his adherents then no event could appear leſs deſirable than a reconciliation of differences (*o*).

Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke ſign a letter to the Secretary, directing Him to ſign the inſtructions &c. by order of Council.

Far from acceding to this overture; far from liſtening to the language of reconciliation, the Majority delivered a Minute, which, ſo far as it is intelligible, amounts to an open renunciation of every palliative, every meaſure that could tend to a reconciliation; which contains a clear declaration that they had a right to command the Preſident; and, in caſe of his daring to diſobey their high beheſts, they declare their Selves authoriſed virtually to ſuſpend Him (*p*).——"We *call on* the Preſident—theſe are their words—" to direct that the Secretary ſhould ſign the Letters to "Colonel Stuart, and Lieutenant-Colonel Harpur; and, on *his* "refuſal to give ſuch directions, *We, the Majority*, do look upon "our Selves as authoriſed *to order him to do ſo* (*q*).—Here then the queſtion was brought to an iſſue, not by Lord Pigot, but by the Faction: The exerciſe of a *negative* power could never have brought it to an iſſue: Nothing leſs could bring it to an iſſue than the exerciſe of a *poſitive* power. If, therefore, by the deciſion of this queſtion, "the conſtitution was overturned"—as in truth it was —"the very exiſtence of the ſettlement riſked"—as in truth too it was—not to Lord Pigot, but to the Faction of Seven, let due thanks be returned. To have *obeyed* this call of Mr. Stratton and his adherents: to have yielded that to the tone of uſurped authority, which He had refuſed to the more civil language of requeſt;

(*o*) See Papers, vol. I. fol. 369—372.

(*p*) In a former Minute We have ſeen them aſſign to the Secretary the power peculiar to the Preſident, of *putting queſtions*: In this Minute they attribute to their Selves the power, likewiſe peculiar to the Preſident, of giving orders to the Secretary officiating at the Board.

(*q*) It is from the ſubſequent proceedings the Reader will learn to whom the "*his*," and the "*Him*" refer: To whom the *order* of "*Us the Majority*" is to be addreſſed; and what the perſon ſo ordered was to do. The Minute, unexplained by what follows, would be unintelligible.

would have been at once to betray his duty; to give up that power which was *intruſted* to Him: and, out of mere wantonneſs, to cover his Self with all the accumulated ſhame, which could reſult from—what He muſt then have allowed to have been—a *raſh* and unwarranted claim; an obſtinate and childiſh perſeverance; and a weak and womanly conceſſion. Little did thoſe men know of the character, of the feelings, of Lord Pigot, who could ſuſpect Him to be capable of any thing ſo low, ſo abject. To this inſolent "*Call*" of the Faction, his Lordſhip calmly replied, that "*He "would not give the orders to the Secretary.*" On his Lordſhip's refuſal the Faction had declared their Selves to be authoriſed to give them. What they declared their Selves authoriſed to do they did (*r*). A letter was written to the Secretary, directing Him to ſign the Inſtructions and Letter, by *order of Council* (*s*): and ſend them to Colonel Stuart. This Letter to the Secretary was ſigned by Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke (*t*).

They are ſuſpended.

To ſtop here will be allowed, even by the Faction, to have been impoſſible. Had both the officers, to whom the orders were addreſſed, been in the garriſon of Fort St. George: had it been *there* that the orders and inſtructions given to them were to operate; perhaps his Lordſhip might have ſuffered all the Faction of Seven to have ſigned the letter. He might then have warned the officers not to obey an order, which, upon the face of it, was not a legal order; not an order of the *Preſident and Council.* Had the officers diſregarded this warning, He might have put *them* under arreſt; and left it to his conſtituents to puniſh—as, no doubt, they would have puniſhed, as,

(*r*) They ſpake; and, to confirm their words, outflew
Numbers of blackeſt pens, drawn from the Herns
Of wiſeſt ſcribes, &c.

(*s*) It is boldly aſſerted (Original Papers, folio 58) that this paper was directed to be ſigned by "order of the *Preſident* and Council."—What faith can We have in relations that ſo groſsly miſ-ſtate circumſtances, which the writer *had* the means of authenticating; which were not to be vouched only by reports of ſecret conferences; of manuſcripts in poſſeſſion of the Nabob.

(*t*) See Papers, vol. I. folio 370—373.

no

no doubt, they will yet puniſh—this daring breach of their conſtitution. But this was not the caſe: one of the officers was at Tanjore; at Tanjore it was theſe orders and inſtructions were to operate. His Lordſhip, therefore, ſaw his Self reduced to the neceſſity of ſtopping the buſineſs in that ſtage. As ſoon therefore as the letter to the Secretary had been ſigned by Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke, his Lordſhip took it; "and taking notice to the Council "of the frequent times he had entreated them not to carry this "matter farther, but to wait the determination of the Court of Di-"rectors, declared he would ſtop it where it now was." He removed the letter from the quire; folded it up; put it in his pocket; and, being prepared for all probable events (*u*), produced a written charge againſt Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke for being "guilty of an act ſubverſive of the authority of government, and "tending to introduce anarchy, in the ſigning orders to the Secre-"tary, to give inſtructions to Colonel Stuart, which had not been "approved and paſſed by the Preſident and Council." The Gentlemen againſt whom this charge was produced, "not admitting it to be a charge;" and, therefore, refuſing to give any anſwer to it, were ſuſpended (*x*).

This ſuſpenſion legal in itſelf.

Great indeed has been the clamor which this ſuſpenſion has excited. Men who have but an imperfect idea of the point on which it turned; who have not gradually purſued the ſteps which led to it; who have not ſeen the neceſſity which enforced it; may well have been alarmed. The great objection We have already removed. Already have We proved, that the Preſident is one, and the Council the other, conſtituent parts of the Government of Fort St. George; that each has a negative upon the proceedings of the other; that neither is competent to do a poſitive act of Government without the concurrence of the other. Already have We

(*u*) And the Reader will recollect, that Minutes delivered by the Faction two days before rendered this event probable.

(*x*) See Papers, vol. I. folio 373—375. Ibid. folio 587. Narrative folio 7, 8.

ſeen, on the one hand, the conciliatory plans holden out by Lord Pigot; the condition on which, in this inſtance, He would have waved the exerciſe of His negative power; His repeated requeſt to refer the deciſion of his claim of a negative power to the only competent judge; to the Court of Directors; He promiſed mean while not to exert this power, unleſs on occaſions of ſtrict neceſſity, till that deciſion could be known. On the other hand, We have ſeen the ſullenneſs with which every overture to a reconciliation was rejected by the major part of the Council; the headſtrong obſtinacy, with which they determined to bring the matter to an immediate iſſue, on a point where no ill conſequences could poſſibly ariſe from delay. From theſe premiſes, theſe ſeem to be the general concluſions: that whatever confuſion may have ariſen from this precipitate and raſh aſſumption of all the powers of Government to a *part* of the Council, is to be ſolely attributed to the faction of Seven: that this aſſumption of all the powers of Government was a breach of the conſtitution: from whence it muſt likewiſe follow, that Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke were—as the charge ſtates them to have been—"guilty of an *act*" ſubverſive of the authority of Government; and tending "to introduce anarchy." The faction of Seven had declared it as their *opinion*, that the Council, or a Majority of the Council, might by their ſole authority, and without the concurrence of the Preſident, do poſitive acts of Government, to which, by their ſole authority, and without the concurrence of the Preſident, they were not competent: this *opinion* was repugnant to the Conſtitution, tended to ſubvert the authority of Government; but ſo long as it remained matter of opinion, couched only on the Minutes of the Council, not divulged among the inferior ſervants of the Company, they were exempted, by the neceſſary freedom of debate, from all puniſhment. The faction of Seven had declared, that the Council, or a Majority of Council, by their ſole authority, without the ſanction of the Preſident, had a right to iſſue orders to officers, which, without the ſanction of the Preſident, thoſe officers could not legally obey. This opinion

tended

tended to introduce anarchy: but ſtill, ſo long as it remained matter of opinion, couched only on the Minutes of the Council, not divulged among the inferior ſervants of the Company, they were, by the neceſſary freedom of debate, exempted from puniſhment. But Meſſieurs Stratton and Brooke went farther. By actually ſigning the letter to the Secretary, they divulged theſe opinions among the inferior ſervants of the Company; they carried theſe opinions into *practice*: they did *acts* ſubverſive of the authority of Government; tending to introduce anarchy. Theſe acts were done deliberately; with a manifeſt and avowed deſign of ſubverting, what We have, I think, proved to be, the Conſtitution; of depriving one of the conſtituent parts of the Government of, what We have, I think, proved to be, his legal power. Theſe premiſes admitted—and I do not aſk the Reader to admit, but from a conviction that I have proved them—it will follow, that ſuſpenſion, during the pleaſure of the Company, was a puniſhment neither exceſſive nor illegal.

Nor was it rendered illegal by circumſtances.

If the puniſhment be illegal, the illegality muſt ariſe from circumſtances; either the fact charged was not proved; or a proper time was not given to anſwer; or the uſual courſe of proceedings was violated or neglected.

The charge was fully proved.

That the fact with which they were charged, the ſigning of the letter to the Secretary, was fully proved, will not be denied, even by the culprits. Before it was carried into execution their deſign was announced. It was carried into execution publicly, at the Board, in the preſence of all but two of the members, who were then at the Preſidency. Even now the culprits avow it; boaſt of it; glory in it.

No time was required to anſwer it.

That to a charge, thus clearly proved, any time ſhould be given to anſwer, was not required, either by the orders of the Company, or by the practice of the Board. This I aſſert boldly, without reſerve

ſerve or qualification. The authority of Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke—and, on this occaſion, better authority cannot be aſked—ſhall ſupport my aſſertion. Let the Reader caſt his eye on the Appendix (*y*). There He will ſee that a Mr. John Macpherſon, a ſervant of the Company, was brought before the Board to anſwer to a charge of having carried on intrigues at the Durbar; of having acted upon principles, and concurred in tranſactions, deſtructive to the welfare of the Company; at a time when He either was employed, or was applying to be employed, in the ſervice of the Company (*z*). This charge was ſupported by a "ſhort memorial of *ſervices* rendered to his Highneſs: they conſiſted in viſits made, conferrences holden, propoſals tendered, preſents offered, to the then Britiſh Miniſtry; of letters written in the public Papers; prints of the Nabob, and copies of a hiſtory, in *red characters*, printed and diſperſed at a great expence; perilous voyages; difficult negociations. This memorial, as the Reader may ſee, Mr. Macpherſon neither avowed directly, nor directly or indirectly diſavowed. His refuſal to give a direct negative to the charge the Board conſidered, and, I think, very properly, as an implied avowal. They took him *pro confitente Reo*; and pronounced the ſentence of *diſmiſſion*, not of a temporary ſuſpenſion but of an abſolute diſmiſſion, from the ſervice of the Company. This very objection—that time ſhould be given to Mr. Macpherſon to anſwer this charge—was taken, and, as the Reader may ſee, over-ruled. Becauſe "they were ſatisfied that Mr. Mac-"pherſon was the author of the Paper delivered at the Board." "They thought the peculiar circumſtances of the Caſe and the cri-"tical ſituation of affairs, not only rendered ſuch an example ne-"ceſſary, but juſtified the manner of doing it." Such, the Reader

(*y*) Letter I. folio 48—50.

(*z*) If I am not miſinformed, the Gentleman—was *then* a Purſer, that is a ſervant of great truſt and confidence. His anſwer therefore, that he was not then in the ſervice of the Company, meant only that he was not *then* in their ſervice as a Writer.

will

will ſee, was the opinion delivered by Meſſrs. *Stratton*, *Brooke*, Jourdan and Mackay. Mr. *Stratton*, the Reader will obſerve, went farther; He was not only of opinion, that time to make his defence ſhould be allowed to the party accuſed in thoſe cauſes *alone*, "where "a charge is wanted to be proved"—ſo He expreſſes it—but even that right He will not allow to depend upon the paragraph of the printed regulations to *Bengal*; becauſe, ſays He, "I do not look "on them as any ways binding on *Us* (*a*)." It is not therefore upon this ground, that the faction could proteſt againſt the ſuſpenſion. They were judged by a precedent their Selves had confirmed; by a law their Selves had recognized and applied (*b*).

The ſuſpenſion was a regular, legal act of the whole Board: that is, of all the members preſent at the Board, having a right to vote. The queſtion was put by the Preſident; that was regular and legal: the votes of all the members preſent, who had a right to vote, were taken; that was regular and legal: upon caſting up the votes it appeared that They were equal, four to four; beſides His vote,

The ſuſpenſion a regular act of the whole Board

(*a*) See as above. Yet, whenever they can be turned *againſt Lord Pigot*, Mr. Stratton and his adherents conceive, that orders confined to Bengal are binding at Madraſs; that proceedings of the Board at Bengal, reported on *memory*, are precedents at Madraſs; nay that the opinion of a Preſident at Bengal is a rule of conduct to the Preſident at Madraſs.

(*b*) Add, that they refuſed to conſider the accuſation as a *charge*; *refuſed* to anſwer to it. And this, by the way, anſwers another objection. In the Minutes taken from recollection it is ſtated, that a motion for adjournment was regularly made and ſeconded. From the confuſion which prevailed on the production of this unexpected charge, from the agitation of the different members, it was not perhaps eaſy to know whether ſuch a motion was regularly made and ſeconded. It is certain it was not put to the queſtion. It is certain that Mackay, Jourdan, &c. voted on the queſtion which the Preſident did put. When it was propoſed to Mr. Stratton to adjourn, in order to give *Him* and Mr. Brooke time to anſwer the charge, He ſaid "He did not conſider it as a charge; and that "it did not deſerve any anſwer." It is obvious, that the putting the queſtion for an adjournment would have made no alteration in the events of the day. The Majority of what was *then the Board* would have carried *both* queſtions as eaſily as *one*. Till the charge was either anſwered or withdrawn, Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke *were not members of the Board*; were as incompetent to vote on an adjournment, as on any other queſtion (See Mr. Dalrymple's Account, folio 23, 24).

then,

then, the Preſident gave—and deſired that it might be *recorded* that He gave—his caſting vote; that too was regular and legal. The members preſent in the *Room* were, the Preſident, Meſſrs. Stratton, Brooke, Ruſſell, Dalrymple, Floyer, Stone, Palmer, Jourdan and Mackay: in all they were ten: two of the ten were parties accuſed: by the ſtanding orders of the Company *they could not vote* (*c*). From them, therefore, the Secretary was ordered to take no vote. The Board then was reduced to eight. Of theſe, four voted againſt the ſuſpenſion (*d*); four others for it (*e*). The caſting voice of the Preſident decided in favour of the ſuſpenſion. All this I conceive was legal and regular. That Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke were deprived of votes, to which they had a legal right, cannot be contended, without declaring the ſtanding orders of the Company "to "be null and void, as though they had never been."—It was an act then of *the whole Board.* For the Board conſiſted only of the eight remaining members. All voted who had a right to vote: none voted but thoſe who had that right. The Preſident had ſurely a right to vote. It has indeed been diſputed; but upon what grounds? Becauſe the charge was made by Him. But it was not in his *individual,* it was in his *official* capacity. The charge was not of *perſonal* injuries, but of *public* miſdemeanors: not of private, but of public wrong. To what political ſociety, will theſe men have recourſe for a precedent to deprive the Governor of his vote on ſuch a charge as this? Were the members, who brought the charges againſt Mr. Wilkes in the Houſe of Lords, or in the Houſe of Commons, precluded from voting on the queſtion? Mr.

(*c*) Standing Orders, folio 19. "If a charge be againſt *any of the Council* at the "Fort, in all ſuch Caſes, during the examination, the party concerned are not to "ſit in Council. But if any charge be againſt the *Agent*" (ſo the *Preſident* or *Governor* was then ſtiled) "that it be exhibited alſo to the Council, and *examined* and "a copy thereof ſent Us with the whole proceedings thereupon; *that We may give* "*You neceſſary orders therein.*" See Narrative, folio 36.

(*d*) Meſſrs. Floyer, Palmer, Jourdan, and Mackay.

(*e*) Lord Pigot, Meſſrs. Ruſſell, Dalrymple, and Stone.

Wilkes

Wilkes has repeatedly moved the houſe to reſcind the reſolutions againſt him: Has he not conſtantly voted on his own motions? The reaſon is obvious. The charges, the motions, were of a public, not of a private, nature. In the intereſt of the public the intereſt of the individual was abſorbed.

Not vitiated by joining two perſons in one charge.

It has been urged as a formidable objection, that two perſons were included in one and the ſame charge. But can this vitiate the proceedings? Look to the practice of the criminal courts in England. In no courts is ſo much tenderneſs ſhewn to culprits. If two or more perſons are accuſed of the ſame act of treaſon, are they not included in one indictment? If two or more perſons are accuſed as principals in the commiſſion of the ſame murder; of writing and publiſhing the ſame libel; are they not included in one and the ſame indictment? In the caſe before us both were guilty of the ſame identical offence; there was not the minuteſt variation of circumſtance. To include them in one and the ſame charge appears then to be very regular. Whether it was ſo perfectly regular to put one queſtion upon both, I will not take upon me to determine. I know of no precedent in the records of Fort St. George. But neither do I know of any precedent of any two perſons ſtanding exactly in the ſame predicament as Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke. And this I will take upon me to obſerve, that whether the queſtion had been put upon each ſingly, or upon both together, was a circumſtance which neither did, nor could, make the minuteſt alteration in the event of the queſtions. It was not here, as in our courts of criminal juſtice. Here was no jury to challenge. That advantage then they could not loſe. In the fact committed there was not the minuteſt variation of circumſtances. Both were equally culpable, or equally innocent. Here were no witneſſes to examine in favour of one or of the other. Here then no advantage was loſt. Had the queſtion been put on Mr. Stratton ſingly, Mr. Brooke could not have voted upon it: He ſtood accuſed of the ſame miſdemeanor; was included in the ſame charge.

To have voted on the queſtion in favour of Mr. Stratton, would have been to vote in exculpation of his Self. Change their places; put Mr. Brooke in the place of Mr. Stratton, and to Mr. Stratton the ſame arguments apply. This would have been children's play. No man has yet pointed out another method by which this faction could be broken; by which men, who illegally deprived one conſtituent part of the government of his conſtitutional rights; who illegally aſſumed all the entire powers of government to their Selves; could have been reduced to order; replaced in that ſituation in which, by the Conſtitution, they ought to ſtand. If to a meaſure which tended to effect an event ſo deſirable and important, no greater objection can be made, than the non-obſervance of a doubtful point of order, the candid reader will, I am perſuaded, allow that meaſure to have been very defenſible.

Proteſt of the Faction of Seven.

The ſame moderation which his Lordſhip had maintained in the beginning of theſe diſputes, after this neceſſary act of vigour he reſumed. Beſide thoſe who had been preſent at the vote of ſuſpenſion, there were two other members of the Board at Madraſs. Sir Robert Fletcher and Mr. Lathom, the latter of whom, in conſequence of a reſolution of the Board, was lately arrived from Cuddalore. What their ſentiments would have been on the meaſure which led to the vote of ſuſpenſion, was not, at that time, known. Mr. Lathom, we may now ſafely affirm, would not have voted for ſo illegal a meaſure. Sir Robert Fletcher muſt be ſuſpected of ſomething near akin to want of courage, if thinking a majority of Council had, and ought to exert, a right to make an order of Council without the concurrence of the Preſident; if knowing that on this memorable day they meant to exert that right; He did not come and give them his perſonal ſupport. Ill as he was, he aſſiſted at the cabals of the Faction: He might then have been brought to the Council: that he was not brought there was, at the time, a preſumption that he did not think the meaſure legal. After the vote of ſuſpenſion, the Council adjourned to the next day. Summons

mons were ſent to all the acting members at the Fort; five only attended (*f*). The others, inſtead of attending, thought fit to ſend a paper, purporting to be a proteſt. It was ſigned by the five abſent members who had been ſummoned (*g*); and likewiſe by the ſuſpended members, Stratton and Brooke. It was addreſſed to Lord Pigot, Preſident, &c. Claud Ruſſell, Alexander Dalrymple, and John Maxwell Stone, Eſquires, of Council at Fort St. George. Mr. Lathom's name, though inſerted in the ſummons, was omitted in their addreſs (*h*). After cenſuring in an illiberal, ungentlemanly ſtile, the proceedings upon record at the two laſt meetings, they declare: "*We the Majority of the Board do conſider ourſelves* "*as the only legal repreſentatives of the honourable Company, under* "*this Preſidency, and as ſuch we have no doubt but all the ſervants of* "*the Company will regard us* (*i*)."

Moderation of Lord Pigot.

This now is the ſecond ſolemn act by which the Faction of Seven did that, of which they have falſely accuſed Lord Pigot, but which

(*f*) The Preſident, Meſſrs. Ruſſell, Dalrymple, Stone, and Lathom.

(*g*) Fletcher, Floyer, Palmer, Jourdan, Mackay.

(*h*) This omiſſion, we may ſafely pronounce, was not accidental. It was clearly intended to convey an inſinuation that, even without the two ſuſpended members, the faction had ſtill a majority. Had his name been inſerted, the majority was as clearly on the other ſide; ſuppoſing this ſuſpenſion to be, what I think we have proved it to be, legal. The numbers on the vote of ſuſpenſion we have ſeen ſtood thus:

For the Queſtion.	Againſt it.	Abſent members.
Lord Pigot,	Meſſrs. Floyer,	Sir Robert Fletcher.
Meſſrs. Ruſſell,	Palmer,	Mr. Lathom.
Dalrymple,	Jourdan,	
Stone,	Mackay,	

If Sir Robert Fletcher, who *was not preſent that day in conſultation*, was a part of the Government; ſo was Mr. Lathom; and then the caſting vote of the Preſident turned the ſcale, and gave a deciſive majority againſt the members of the faction who remained of the Board.

(*i*) See Papers, vol. I. folio 377, 378, and folio 588. Narrative, folio 9. There is a variation in the three copies of this proteſt. The word *only* ſtands in the Narrative, and in the ſecond, but not in the firſt, copy referred to in the Papers.

his Lordſhip never did: it is the ſecond ſolemn act, by which they uſurped to their Selves *all* the powers of government. By this declaration they virtually ſuſpended Lord Pigot, and four other members of the Board: one of whom had aſſiſted at no act of government; had given no official opinion ſince his arrival.—Had Lord Pigot been that man of violence, which it has pleaſed his enemies to repreſent him, what would have been his conduct at receiving, by the hands of a Notary Public, in his official capacity, a paper declaring the legal government to be diſſolved; avowing the powers of government to be ſeized into the hands of uſurpers? If the Company have any reproach to make his Lordſhip, it is, perhaps, that, on this occaſion, he did not exert a little more of that, which the faction would call violence, which others would deem neceſſary vigour. But, unwilling to proceed to extremity; inclined to give the unſuſpended members of the faction time to reflect, neither did his Lordſhip propoſe, nor did the Board form, any reſolution on this extraordinary paper (*k*).

Aug. 23, at four o'clock in the afternoon. Suſpenſion of four other members; and arreſt of Sir Robert Fletcher.

At four o'clock (*l*) in the afternoon, at the deſire of the Preſident, the Council aſſembled again. The members of the faction had now thrown off the maſk. The ſtandard of revolt was publicly ſet up. Not contented with ſending this indecent proteſt to the Preſident, the ſame public Notary had been directed to diſtribute copies of it to the Commanders of his Majeſty's ſhips; to the Captain of the London in the ſervice of the Company; to the Secretaries of the Board; to *the Town Major*; *to the Officers of the Main Guard.* To attempt to prove this to be an aſſumption of all the powers of government, civil and military; to be an act which tended to excite mutiny and ſedition; would be a waſte of time, and a miſapplication of argument. It ſpeaks for it Self. No language can enforce it. What act can come within this deſcription, if it be

(*k*) See Narrative, folio 9, 10.

(*l*) The reader will hereafter ſee why we are ſo preciſe in marking the hour of this meeting. It is of conſequence,

not

not that act, which, in direct and positive terms, commands the servants, and officers, and soldiers, of the Company no longer to obey the orders of the legal Government, the President *and* Council; whom and whom only, by their Commissions, They were bounden to obey? Which commands Them to obey the orders of Usurpers; of a part of the Council; in whom, detached from the President, neither the general Commission of Government, nor the particular Commissions of the officers, suppose any power to give orders. To have left this act unnoticed or unpunished, would have been effectually to resign the Government into the hands of the Usurpers. It was therefore resolved to suspend Messrs. Floyer, Palmer, Jourdan, and Mackay, from the service of the Company, till the pleasure of the Company should be known. It was farther resolved, that Sir Robert Fletcher, being a military officer, should be immediately ordered into arrest. And the command of the troops was given to Colonel Stuart (*m*).

Legality and necessity of this measure.

We must again recall to the reader's attention what We have before remarked. The legality of these vigorous measures will depend upon these plain and simple questions: "By the Constitution "of Government, is the President, or is He not, invested with "the power of putting a negative upon every act of Government?" "Has the Council, or has it not, the power of doing an act of "Government without the concurrence of the President?" To both these questions We have already given plain and direct answers. We have, I think, proved the negative power of the President: We have, I think, proved that, without the concurrence of the President, the Council has no power to do acts of Government. This proved, it follows, that attempts to deprive the

(*m*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 377—385, and 588—598. On this occasion the two Secretaries entered a Minute, in which, after reciting the very order of the Company of 9th March, 1702, which the faction had cited for a contrary purpose; and a part of the Commission of Lord Pigot, they declare it "to be their *duty* to "act under the orders of the *Council assembled by the President.*"

President

Preſident of his negative power; to aſſume all the powers of Government to a part only of the Council, independently and excluſively of the Preſident: that attempts to withdraw the officers and ſoldiers from their obedience to the Governor and Council; are acts ſubverſive of Government; tend to introduce anarchy and confuſion; to excite mutiny and ſedition. *Theſe vigorous meaſures were therefore legal.* But though legal they were violent. Violent! Was it violent to ſuſpend the civil ſervants of the Company, who ſubverted the conſtitution of the Company's Government? Was it violent to order an officer, who excited mutiny and ſedition, to appear before the tribunal appointed by law for the cognizance of offences committed by officers? It was an act of vigour, but ſurely not of violence. But ſuppoſe, for the ſake of argument, it were an act of violence; to whom muſt the blame be imputed? Who brought the conteſt to an iſſue? We have ſeen: it was the faction. Lord Pigot did nothing: He refuſed only to act. The faction acted. The faction ſigned the letter. That brought on the ſuſpenſion of Stratton and Brooke. The faction ſigned the proteſt, diſperſed the proteſt. That brought on the ſuſpenſion of the others and the arreſt of Fletcher. "It is ſtrange, that the blame "of theſe proceedings ſhould be thrown on the man who was "only aſſerting his legal right;"—and that only to a negative power,—"which He could not give up without a breach of truſt to "his Employers (*n*)." In a word the remedy was ſtrong; was, if you will, violent. But it was legal: but it was neceſſary. No medium was left. No man, not the ſevereſt cenſurer of Lord Pigot, has been able to point out any other poſſible mode of breaking the tyranny of the faction. It was legal, it was neceſſary, to ſuſpend from the Government, "thoſe who had overturned all law, "and all Government (*n*);" to ſend to the tribunal of a martial

(*n*) See Caſe, fol. 12. This is the only time I have been able to quote the Caſe without cenſuring. I ſhould apologize to the reader for having quoted it ſo often. I did it for the ſame reaſon I mentioned the hand-bills: like them the thing was made to circulate: it was ſhort; the price ſmall; the miſrepreſentations artful; the aſſertions bold: and yet, like the *wrappers* of other poiſons, its title was fair, and it affected candour.

Court

Court an officer who had violated martial law. But again, I repeat it boldly, this was was an occaſion where forms, and regular order, might have been diſregarded. Moments there are in all Governments when a good and a virtuous adminiſtration muſt diſregard them. It has been excellently ſaid of a Miniſter, and may with equal truth be applied to a Governor: "*He ſhould be a bold* "*man; a man who would have been a ſucceſsful rebel, had not his vir-* "*tues made him a patriot* (*o*)."

The events We are to relate in the next Section may perhaps make us regret, that to the vigour and firmneſs, which characteriſe the great mind, his Lordſhip did not add a little of that cold, cautious ſuſpicion, which enter into the compoſition of minds more vulgar. They rarely meet in one breaſt. Yet happy would it have been for his Lordſhip, happy for his Employers had they met in Him.

(*o*) See a Letter to Mr. Burke, ſecond edit. p. 43.

SECT.

SECTION IV.

Conduct of the Faction of Seven.

Idea of this Section.

THIS Section will be very ſhort. It will conſiſt of little elſe than a plain and brief ſtate of facts. I ſhall ſcarcely allow my Self to argue upon them. To argue here would be to accuſe. And neither my talents, nor my inclination, have fitted Me for the taſk of an accuſer. "In cauſis, judiciiſque publicis ita "vellem verſari, ut defenderem multos, læderem neminem; nun-"quam, niſi invitâ voluntate, ad accuſandum deſcenderem (*a*)." I would not touch upon the ſubject, could the Defence of Lord Pigot be completed without it.

Auguſt 23. Faction of Seven reſolve upon the Proteſt, and write to Bengal.

Before Lord Pigot had met the firſt Council, after the ſuſpenſion of Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke, the faction of Seven were aſſembled in what They choſe to call, A Conſultation. Here it was They agreed upon the form of the Proteſt, reſolved to ſend it by a Notary Public, in his official capacity, to Lord Pigot, *&c.* (*b*) and digeſted a letter to be ſent to Bengal. In this letter They vaunt their own unmerited *moderation*; tremble at "the *public danger* impending over the ſettlement from the *con-*"*duct of Lord Pigot:*" announce their reſolution not to act with Him, and, what They call, the Minority of the Board; but "to "claim *their* rights"—that is, the excluſive right of Government —"of the ſervants of the Company:" "call on the Council of "Bengal for their aſſiſtance and ſupport;" and finiſh by "*ſuppoſing* "his Lordſhip to be actuated by private views; and not *from* any "public motives (*c*)."

(*a*) Cicero in Q. Cæcilium. Divinatio.

(*b*) So it ſtands upon the Minutes. Who were meant to be included under this convenient *&c.*? The officers of the *main-guard* among others.

(*c*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 385—389.

The

The plot advanced with haſty ſtrides to its completion. Early in the afternoon the faction aſſembled again. What They were before, They beſt can tell. Now, ſenſible of the public danger, They "*form their Selves into a Council*:" determine, "that the "fortreſs and garriſon of Fort St. George ſhall be in *their* hands, "and under *their* commands:" declare it "to be *their duty to arreſt* "*the perſon of Lord Pigot*:" "confer the command of the army "and of the garriſon (*d*) on Colonel Stuart;" order, "inſtruct, and "impower, Him to take ſuch meaſures as to Him ſhall appear "proper, to place the Fort, Garriſon, and Fort-houſe under their "command:" "farther *order and direct Him, if He ſees it neceſſary*, "or in caſe of reſiſtance to their orders, *to arreſt the perſon of Lord* "*Pigot*, or of any other perſon who ſhall obſtruct Him (Colonel "Stuart) in the execution of theſe their orders:" "order all the "Company's ſervants, civil and *military*, and all perſons who "live under the protection of *this* Government, to give the ſaid "Colonel James Stuart, every aſſiſtance and ſupport:" for which They declared "this reſolution to be his and their *warrant*." In the ſtile of a warrant this reſolution is "given under their hands, "Madraſs, the 23d Auguſt, 1776, *at 3 o'clock P. M.* (*e*)." This preciſion in the date of the order is important. For thoſe who have attempted to defend this act of rebellion, have aſked with a grave and pitiful face—What could the poor men do? Lord Pigot *had* actually ſuſpended *all* the members of the Majority: Lord Pigot *had* actually *ordered* one of them into *confinement*: ordered Him to be tried for a capital offence. Nay, one man goes farther—He ſays Lord Pigot had ordered Sir Robert Fletcher to be *murthered*; to be *aſſaſſinated*:—"His Self an officer," ſpeaks of murther and a trial by a Court Martial, as of ſynonymous terms: whether in

August 23, 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Reſolve to ſeize the fort, &c. to arreſt the perſon of Lord Pigot.

(*d*) Suppoſing them to have been *the legal* government, their firſt act was a violation of the Company's inſtructions. The army and garriſon ſhould be in ſeparate hands. Upon Stratton, had He been the legal Preſident, the command of the garriſon devolved.

(*e*) See Papers, vol. i. fol. 390, 391.

India, or in England, "his Self an officer" conſiders a trial by a Court Martial "as an aſſaſſination, clothed in the robes of juſtice (*f*)". Yet after all it comes out, that the legal order for the ſuſpenſion of Floyer, &c. the legal order for the arreſt of Sir Robert Fletcher, *was not given* when the faction ſigned their illegal warrant for the ſeizure of the Fort: for the arreſt of the Governor. The warrant of the faction was ſigned at *three*. The Council of Lord Pigot did not meet till *four*. Was not this warrant, then, even upon their own ſhewing, more than an act *tending* to *excite* mutiny and ſedition? Was it not itſelf an act of the moſt daring mutiny, of the moſt unexampled ſedition?

The faction hurried into this meaſure by the Nabob, who aſſured them of ſupport from Bengal.

Till within theſe few days We have obſerved the faction had given little proof of that bold and manly ſpirit, which, as it is directed, forms the great citizen, or the ſucceſsful villain. They had no ſcruples againſt revolting: if rebellion lay in their way, they were ready enough to pick it up. The mouth watered; and the eye gliſtened at the ſight of the golden prize; but they wanted pith and nerve to encounter the dragon, who guarded the power of Government. Some foreign impulſe then, ſome extraneous power, muſt have hurried them all at once ſo much beyond their character. This impulſe I will boldly aſſert was given by the Nabob; was inforced by his aſſurances of ſupport from Bengal.

Proofs of this aſſertion.

That the Nabob had long carried on intrigues at Bengal We may prove from the mouth of faction itſelf. From them We may learn the character of the Nabob: the character and diſpoſitions of the principal perſons in His family. The Nabob has two ſons; the eldeſt is repreſented as a man of parts; but trained in the ſchool of adverſity, moderate and affable. With no other ambition than to preſerve his poſſeſſions and heritage, he ſees and values the advantages of the connection between the Carnatic and the Company.

(*f*) See Caſe, folio 26, 27.

The

The ſecond ſon is a man of intrigue, enterpriſe, and ambition; indefatigable in his purſuits; profuſe in the accompliſhment of them. He has the troops of his father at his devotion. He formed them. To Him almoſt every officer owes his promotion. Perfectly acquainted with the foibles of his father, he guides Him as He will; raiſes at one time his ſuſpicions; at another excites his ambition; tempts him one while, by open and daring ſtrides, to ſeize; at another, by ſecret intrigues to acquire, ſuch a degree of power as may render him independent of the Company; may render the Company dependent upon him. Attentive to every motion of the Company, active to throw obſtructions in their way; He foments diviſions in their reſpective Councils; excites diſſenſions between their different Governments. For his intrigues are not confined to Madraſs. They extend to Bengal. Mr. Macpherſon aſſures us They have extended to England. In May, 1774, Coloſnel *Macleane* came from Bengal. He had frequent interviews with the Nabob. From the Preſident (Mr. Wynch) He kept the ſubjects of his conferences a ſecret. It was however diſcovered, that the ſcheme then in view was to give Tanjore to his ſecond ſon. To induce the members of the Council to co-operate in this plan, at one time *he made them offers from his Durbar*: at another, He treated them in the moſt *indecent* and *abuſive* manner. To facilitate His plan, ſoon after the arrival of Mr. Haſtings and his Council at Bengal, He diſpatched a Mr. James Johnſon, as his Vakeel to the Governor and Council of Bengal. Newly arrived, They had not perhaps felt their ground. His Ambaſſador did not appear to meet with much encouragement. Indefatigable in His *purſuits, the Nabob turned his thoughts towards England* (*g*). But applying to England (*h*), He did not give over his intrigues in India. In Bengal thoſe intrigues ſeem to have operated. All at once he changed his plan: carried his views, in

(*g*) See extract of a letter from Fort St. George, dated 4th July, 1775, ſigned (among others) by Meſſrs. *Brooke, Palmer, Jourdan, and Mackay.*

(*h*) Macleane and Johnſon came to England in July, 1775.

favour of his ſecond ſon, ſtill farther. He propoſed to name him his *ſucceſſor in the Carnatic*; and to provide for his elder ſon, as a *Renter of the Subahſhip of Bengal* (*i*). That he ſtill continued to carry on his intrigues at Madraſs ſo late as the year 1776: that theſe intrigues tended to the detriment of the Company's ſervice: that they impeded the execution of the orders for the reſtoration of the Rajah, we aſſert, on authority equally incontrovertible (*k*). With what ſucceſs theſe perſevering intrigues were attended at Madraſs, let the facts we have related ſhew. That they had not been *un*ſucceſsful at Bengal, the following circumſtance will evince beyond a doubt.

Auguſt 20. Letter of the Nabob to Bengal.

On the 19th of Auguſt Lord Pigot laid before the Board the draught of a Letter to the Court of Directors, which he propoſed to be ſent by the Grenville. It was ordered to lie upon the table (*l*). In this letter the conduct of the Council and the views of the Nabob were detailed with an accuracy which alarmed them both. From this moment the ruin of Lord Pigot ſeems to have been determined. Now it was that the Nabob and his ſon diſplayed their laſt great motive to the faction; urged them to depoſe his Lordſhip, and aſſured them of—what in the event they have found—approbation and ſupport from Bengal. For on the very next day, the Nabob wrote, and no doubt communicated to the faction, a very remarkable letter to the Governor-general and Council (*m*). In this letter, beſides the complaints we have already anſwered, the Nabob produces a new one. He gives an account

(*i*) See extract from the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George, dated Nov. 25, 1775.

(*k*) See the minutes of Stratton, Brooke, Jourdan, and Mackay, in Appendix, folio 56, 57.

(*l*) See Papers, vol. I. folio 355.—And the Letter itſelf, vol. II. folio 43—68.

(*m*) See this Letter at length, Papers, vol. I. folio 549—553. And ſee alſo his Lordſhip's Anſwer to it in his Letter to the Court of Directors, dated Oct. 15, 1776. The Nabob's Letter gives the true explanation of the minute of Mr. Haſtings.

of

of one Keyrodeen Cawn, whom he repreſents to be an "idle, "fooliſh, profligate boy, ſo ſhameleſs, ſo treacherous, ſo ſlander-"ous, ſuch a liar, ſo ungrateful," that no words can deſcribe him. To this man, however, thus idle, fooliſh, profligate, thus ſhameleſs, thus treacherous, thus ſlanderous, thus a liar, thus ungrateful, the Nabob had given his *favourite daughter*. The young man, deeply involved in debt, was in danger of being ſeized by his creditors. To prevent this dreadful diſgrace, the Nabob *humanely* kept him in his *own gardens*. So he tells his ſtory. But Lord Pigot (he ſays) inveigled him away; treated him with politeneſs; provided him a houſe; furniſhed him with money; appointed him a guard; took him in his chaiſe; and ſhewed him as much honour as he could ſhew to the Nabob or his ſons. It is ſtrange that the Nabob ſhould convert into crimes, the honours beſtowed on his own ſon-in-law (*n*). What advantages could accrue to his Lordſhip from inveigling, from protecting, from giving houſes and money (*o*), to a man ſo involved in debt? The truth of the caſe was this. This Keyrodeen Cawn was indeed involved in debt; but that debt was not contracted for his *own ſervice*. *He had lent his name to the Nabob*. His creditors grew preſſing, and threatened to throw him into goal. That would have led to a diſcovery of the fact. To prevent this diſcovery, the Nabob *confined* him in his garden at Madraſs; and meant to ſend him a *priſoner* to Arcot. There he would be out of the reach of his creditors; and the Nabob would enjoy the fruits of the fraud. The young man ſuſpected the deſign; and not being very deſirous of being made a ſacrifice to the avarice of his father-in-law, during the *abſence* of Lord Pigot at Tanjore, he made his caſe known to Mr. Stratton, and ſignified his wiſh of eſcaping from the Nabob. This account Mr. Stratton tranſmitted to Mr. Dalrymple, deſiring him to communicate it to Lord Pigot, for his Lordſhip's advice. This *inveigler* of the Nabob's family gave his advice; He deſired that Mr.

(*n*) Which however he has over-rated. His Lordſhip ſhewed him civilities, and that was all.

(*o*) Which his Lordſhip never gave.

Stratton

Stratton might *by all means diſſuade* Keyrodeen Cawn from leaving the Nabob. In anſwer to this Mr. Stratton, in a letter to Mr. Dalrymple, dated 20 April, 1776, ſays: "Yours of the 15th I "have juſt now received, and You *may reſt aſſured* I ſhall do what "lies in my power to *prevent* Keyrodeen Cawn from leaving the "Nabob: I am certain, that He does *not want to quarrel with* "*Him*, but the matter reſts here.—The Nabob has *empowered* "Him to borrow money of individuals *on his account*; which He "has done to a large amount. Keyrodeen Cawn's creditors are "preſſing Him to pay their demands: and threaten Him with a "warrant of execution, arreſt, &c. The Nabob is not ignorant "of this, and to avoid aſſiſting Him, He puts the man in priſon; "ſeizes on his effects, and declares He will ſend Him a priſoner to "Arcot; by which He effectually prevents the creditors from tak-"ing lawful means of getting their money: for if *They* threw "Him into priſon, the Nabob. to *ſave his honour*, would pay "their demands. *This is a true ſtate of the caſe*, as far as I can "learn; and was not Keyrodeen Cawn's wife (the Nabob's daugh-"ter) dangerouſly ill, *I really believe* the Nabob would immediately "put his *threats into* execution." Whether this application to Mr. Stratton had been betrayed to the Nabob, or from what other motive does not appear: But the young man and his brothers grew more and more alarmed: they ſuſpected a deſign, declared their fears, of aſſaſſination. To avoid the impending danger, in the month of Auguſt, They fled from the Nabob; and applied to Lord Pigot. His Lordſhip, remembering the intelligence He had received from Mr. Stratton, did not think it neceſſary to force the young man to return to the Nabob. He took, what I conceive the reader will deem, a more honourable line of conduct. He immediately acquainted the Nabob of the young man's eſcape; and expreſſed his wiſh to ſee a reconciliation between them. This tranſaction the Nabob ſeized at this critical moment; dreſt the tale in his own way; tacked it to a repetition of his former complaints; repreſented it as a *new contrivance* to ſhew Lord Pigot's enmity; a breach of a public agreement; a ſtep

that

that tended to breed inſolence in others; and to *diſtreſs Him materially*; ruinous to his domeſtic peace, and to his authority over his own family. He then aſks them, "whether, *without removing* "*Lord Pigot from the Government it is poſſible for them to preſerve* "*the peace and ſecurity of the Carnatic?*" Says, "*He—Lord Pigot* "*—is deſerving of the ſevereſt puniſhment;*" "*muſt be duly puniſhed;*" "*has not a doubt that They will remove this perſon from his office;*" "*that They will be ſenſible there is an immediate neceſſity for removing* "*Him from the Government of Madraſs:*" "*for this He has the ſame* "*reliance on their juſtice, as He ſhould have in a dark night on the* "*ſun's riſing the next morning.*" Here then the Nabob throws off the maſk: openly avows the removal of Lord Pigot as the firſt great object of his wiſhes; expreſſes that confidence, which could only be grounded on what He, at leaſt, conceived to be aſſurances, that the Governor and Council of Bengal would co-operate with the faction in accompliſhing this object. Let the reader mark the ſtile of the letter: let Him recollect the particular moment at which it was written: juſt one day after the letter, to be ſent by the Grenville, had been ſubmitted to the Board; juſt two days *before* the faction brought matters to a criſis, by forcing the Preſident either totally to abandon, or, by ſome act of vigour, to aſſert his conſtitutional rights; juſt three days before the faction publiſhed the proteſt; juſt four days before They put the Governor under arreſt. And then let him draw his own concluſions.

Auguſt 24. Lord Pigot arreſted.

Thus, as it ſhould ſeem then, inſtigated by the Nabob, and confirmed by aſſurance of ſupport * from Bengal, no wonder They took courage: no wonder that They ceaſed to ſtart at danger; that They reſolved even on the daring meaſure of arreſting the Governor within the limits of his command. They were fortunate in another circumſtance. The man who was to execute their orders,

* See in Original Papers, folio 34, a letter from Bengal, dated Auguſt 3, in which are theſe remarkable words: "What remains will much depend on the "*firmneſs and union* of the *majority* of the Council at Madraſs. If they ſhould *for-* "*ſake themſelves*, it is moſt likely we ſhould not *commit ourſelves any deeper in their* "*cauſe*. I ſee they are *intimidated by hard words*."

ſeems

ſeems to have been peculiarly fitted for the taſk. Courage his enemies allow Him; that was a neceſſary qualification: coolneſs He ſeems to have poſſeſſed: and He was, happily for ſuch a purpoſe, diſencumbered of certain feelings, which might have checked a common man. Thus much we may gather from his own relation. I will not offend Him by giving Him the *traits* which the coarſe pencil of his Employers have beſtowed on Him: though They might "think them not only *warranted* by the occa-"ſion; but abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the undertaking;" yet too highly do I revere the honour of a ſoldier's character, to attribute to Him what They call—"maſterly manner:"—"ſin-"gular addreſs—converſation exceedingly *evaſive* (*p*)." Let us, however, follow Him, ſtep by ſtep, throughout the whole of this extraordinary tranſaction (*q*).

Situation of Colonel Stuart, who ſups with Lord Pigot on the evening of the 23d of Auguſt.

His ſituation was uncommon. In the afternoon of the 23d of Auguſt he had been appointed to the command of the army, as well by the faction, as by Lord Pigot and his Council: by the former during the illneſs, by the latter during the arreſt, of Sir Robert Fletcher. The faction had ſuperadded the command of the garriſon. From Lord Pigot and his Council, ſo far as a plain man could have judged from appearances, he accepted the com-

(*p*) See Letter from Mr. Stratton, &c. Narrative, fol. 99, "What was ſo "neceſſary to the ſucceſs of this undertaking cannot," ſay Mr. Stratton and his adherents, "but reflect *honour* on the conduct of a ſoldier." Do theſe Gentlemen conſider how very delicate a thing is the honour of a ſoldier. It was not meant to be touched by rough and vulgar hands. As zealous for the honour of the army at large, as for that of their own hero, They call a trial by a Court Martial "an *illegal* and compulſory trial." I own I ſtarted back with horror; the book dropt from my hands; I bled, for Colonel Stuart, when I ſaw theſe men, ſpeaking of a man of honour and an officer of rank, adopt the ſtile which a "Peachum or a Lockit might have uſed for one of their witneſſes." His "con-"verſation *exceedingly evaſive!*" Shame on them!

(*q*) See Colonel Stuart's report of this tranſaction. Papers, vol. ii. fol. 239—243. And Lord Pigot and Mr. Dalrymple's account of it. Narrative, fol. 10—16. And Papers, vol. ii. fol. 9, 10.

mand.

mand. From the faction, ſo far as they could judge, he accepted the command. A man, unacquainted with the decided character of Colonel Stuart, might have been tempted to attribute this ſeeming acquieſcence with both parties to a deſire of acting as a mediator between them; of preventing farther extremities. But the Colonel was a ſoldier, not a mediator. Already, as he tells us, had he taken his party; already determined to obey the faction; already formed the plan of putting the fortreſs into their hands; already taken meaſures to ſecure the perſon of Lord Pigot, *even in the Fort*, had it been neceſſary; when, on the evening of the twenty-third of Auguſt, he was ſummoned by Lord Pigot to meet him at the Fort-houſe. In conſequence of this meſſage to the Fort-houſe he went. With Lord Pigot he had ſome private *converſation*. The ſubſtance of it was, on the part of his Lordſhip, "that he conſidered the Colonel's having received the general "orders (*r*) without objection, as an acknowledgment of the au-"thority by which they were publiſhed." This was rather a home thruſt. It required ſome art to parry it. How he parried it he does not tell us: he ſays only—"that on his part he did not con-"tradict the poſition of his Lordſhip." Lord Pigot, accuſtomed, throughout life, to perform beyond what he has promiſed; and judging of other men's ſincerity by his own almoſt antiquated ſtandard, thought this ſecond act of acquieſcence to be equivalent to a poſitive aſſent. The Colonel afterwards ſupped with his Lordſhip as a *friend*.

Breakfaſts with his Lordſhip, Auguſt 24

Early the next morning the friendly Colonel ſent his nephew to know whether his Lordſhip meant to breakfaſt in the Fort, or in the Garden-houſe, that he might wait on him *for his commands*. Lord Pigot, whether fortunately or unfortunately for his Self, left the choice to Colonel Stuart. The Colonel, out of friendſhip no doubt,

(*r*) The orders which announced the arreſt of Sir Robert Fletcher, and the Colonel's conſequent appointment to the command.

as well as prudence, appointed the Garden-houſe. For though he had taken meaſures to *arreſt* Lord Pigot at the Fort, if neceſſary: yet the meek Colonel tells us, He "*thought it a fortunate circumſtance not to be driven to that neceſſity.*" To breakfaſt with his Lordſhip then the Colonel, *ſelf-invited*, came: It was juſt after an interview with Colonel *Edington* that He came to partake of this ſecond friendly meal: He came with the directions for the ſeizure of his hoſt yet quivering on his lips.

Delivers a letter to his Lordſhip.

After breakfaſt he delivered a letter to his Lordſhip. The Reader will find it in the Appendix (*s*). It is a compoſition which ought to be preſerved. It will make perhaps the beſt inſcription that truth can engrave upon his tomb. At leaſt it will be the moſt faithful picture of the man. The cautious—in any man but a ſoldier I ſhould have called it the inſidious—mention of "the practice of the ſervice;" of "a ſeat in council;" of "acts to be executed by public authority:" but above all the dark, oracular, reference to "the honour conferred on him yeſterday *;" proclaim Him to be the greateſt maſter of that ſpecies of *double entendre*, which Milton, thinking it too great, too noble, I ſuppoſe, for mortal man to acquire, gave to the worthy warriors of his Pandæmonium. Enough no doubt there was in this letter to have excited ſuſpicion, even in Lord Pigot: more than enough to have alarmed a cold, cautious, man. Without the imputation of fear, his Lordſhip might have apprehended danger. But being, by nature, generous, brave, open, undeſigning; being undiſciplined in the ſchool of evaſion; his eye did not catch theſe dark unfoldings of the Colonel's mind. His Lordſhip conſidered He was treating with a gallant officer: ſo far from catching them his Self, He rejected the ſuſpicions which his friends ſuggeſted. The Colonel, he ſaid, had a character to loſe. To equivocate, to violate the rights of hoſpitality, were actions which his Lordſhip

(*s*) See Appendix, folio 66. Letter M.

* That day, as the Reader will recollect, the Colonel had been appointed to the command by the faction, as well as by his Lordſhip and Council.

could

could not reconcile to his miſtaken idea of a ſoldier (*t*). He remembered perhaps that the Colonel had formerly quitted his firſt connections all at once, *without any information:* now He thought He was grown more delicate: wiſhed "to act upon in-"formation," where ſatisfactory information was to be had ſo readily; and ſo to quit his new attachments rather more handſomely than he had quitted his old (*u*). Lord Pigot read the letter "with "ſeeming attention," as the Colonel informs us, "did not deny "the reaſonableneſs of the requeſt; but objected to the *manner, as* "*it looked like making a bargain, before He (the Colonel) conſented to* "*do his duty.*" Lord Pigot, then, the Colonel acknowleges, repreſented obedience, to Him the Preſident, and His Council, to be the duty of the Colonel. This too was "a poſition which—the Colonel might have told us—"he did not *contradict.*" He might have added too—and in an official report it was too material to be omitted—that, ſo far from contradicting, He confirmed the poſition: declaring in expreſs terms—"It reſted entirely with Lord "Pigot to ſatisfy Him or not; *it was his duty to obey* (*x*)."

The Colonel dines with his Lordſhip.

After breakfaſt the Colonel retired; but returned again to take a friendly dinner with his Lordſhip *. And, after dinner, was invited by his Lordſhip to ſupper. And ſtill farther, to make every thing agreeable to the Colonel, his Lordſhip invited him to the Conſultation-room at ſix, deſiring Him to bring a copy of the orders to Bombay; as it was directed by the Company, that Sir Robert Fletcher's ſucceſſor ſhould have a ſeat and voice in Council and

(*t*) Mr. Pope ſeems to have been as unfortunate in catching leading features as Lord Pigot. According to his unnatural deſcription:

Tom ſtruts a ſoldier, *open, bold, and brave*;
Will ſneaks a ſcrivener, an exceeding knave.

(*u*) See Narrative, folio 34, 35.

(*x*) Narrative, folio 12. In another paper the Colonel acknowleges this: only with this change—inſtead of—"it was his duty to obey," he ſays that his words were—"I know my duty and will do it."—Let him take his choice of the two phraſes.

* He brought with him a preſent of ſome cherry brandy. Knowing the ſcene in which his Lordſhip was to bear ſo trying a part, he thought it right to offer him a *cordial.*

Committees, when military operations were under debate; in the ſame manner as at Bombay. The interval between theſe hoſpitable meals, and friendly meetings the Colonel employed in *completing his plan:* And he had *entirely completed it*; *had* intruſted the execution of it to Colonel Eddington; to Captain Lyſaught (an officer who was not *doing duty*, but on *leave* of *abſence* in the garriſon) and to Major Horne: *His orders were given*; his *diſpoſition was made*; when Colonel Stuart went to the Council.

Aug. 24. Six o'clock. Col. Stuart, in conſultation, accepts the command from Lord Pigot.

This is a very intereſting part of the Colonel's Commentaries; but, with the modeſty of another Cæſar, he mentions too ſlightly his own deſerts. What therefore he has omitted muſt be ſupplied from the Narrative of Lord Pigot. For the Colonel allows "that "much converſation paſt:" "*This, he confeſſes, he induſtriouſly ſpun out to gain time till it was dark:*" "A great deal of *vague* "converſation, he ſays paſt:" To relate the whole of it he does not undertake: "But the particulars, he tells us, very poſſibly Mr. "Secretary Sullivan may recollect." To the memory of Mr. Secretary Sullivan therefore I ſhall boldly appeal for *the particulars of this vague converſation*, which the Colonel, in his report, has omitted, and which I mean to ſupply. The Board was not regularly aſſembled: the conſultation was not in form: becauſe, till the copy of the orders to Bombay could be procured, the Colonel's right to a ſeat in Council was debated. Of theſe orders Colonel Stuart had no copy: But he had, and produced a *letter*, declaring "*that he had* "*received aſſurances he was intended to have a conſtant ſeat in Council*, "in the ſame manner as Sir Robert Fletcher." Of this pretenſion little notice was taken. The commiſſion of Government was ſhewn him, to prove to him not only that the Council had no power to diſmiſs, or ſuſpend, a Governor; but that all the officers were directed to obey the orders of the Preſident and Council; and not the orders of the Council, or of any part of the Council, alone. But deſirous to act, it ſeems, as an *honeſt man* and as a *free agent*; conceiving his Self, as ſuch, to be entitled to know on what *grounds* orders were given; He preſt to ſee *all* the *proceedings*. This *honeſt*

neſt man, this *free agent*, either already knew all the proceedings; or, without knowing them, had taken his party, concerted his meaſures, completed his plan. He did not want information; but He wanted to protract the time. Such a doctrine from a military officer to the ſupreme civil power was thought extraordinary; the propriety of it was diſputed. This was what he expected, and wiſhed. He hugged his Self no doubt on this proof of his ſingular addreſs: The Colonel, We have heard, loves to talk at any time; at this particular time He had an intereſt in *ſpinning out* a converſation. To the objection *ſtarted* He replied; "that He had "been miſunderſtood; that He did not *mean to diſpute the autho-* "*rity*; but only wanted information for his *private* ſatisfaction." This anſwer was, I ſuppoſe, a part of the *vague* converſation which Mr. Secretary Sullivan may poſſibly remember. "The utmoſt "efforts of Lord Pigot and the gentlemen were uſed to obtain an "*avowed acknowlegement of their authority* by ſome public act on "the part of the Colonel:" "the Colonel *fought off the beſt way* "*He could.*" This is his own account: Lord Pigot will inform us, what theſe efforts were, and what is the Colonel's way of fighting off. Mr. Ruſſell aſked the Colonel, "if He had accepted the "command agreeably to the orders of the Preſident and Council, "the preceding evening." This queſtion was pointed; it was not eaſy to fight it off. What was the Colonel's anſwer? He replied; "Certainly; for He had received the ſalutes, and done all other "things belonging to the office." He added; He was *ready* to do "what *They* (Lord Pigot and his Council) *thought proper* to *direct*; "and aſked Lord Pigot *what He was to do?*" Is this fighting off? Is this vague converſation?—An avowed acknowlegement of their authority being, as They thought, thus obtained by this *public and voluntary declaration*—Lord Pigot and the Gentlemen—for ſo it pleaſes the Colonel to ſtile the Preſident and Council—proceeded to exact an avowed acknowlegement of the ſame authority by ſome public *act*. In anſwer to the Colonel's queſtion to Lord Pigot, what he was to do? His Lordſhip very properly replied—"Direct the "Adjutant General to iſſue to all the out-garriſons the general or-

"ders,

" ders of Sir Robert Fletcher's arreſt, and your own appointment to " the command." This too was pointed; this it would be difficult to fight off. The Colonel pleaded very earneſtly " to *delay it till* " *morning*." The neceſſity of doing it directly was urged; the officers had received the circular letters from the Notary Public: to quiet their minds as ſoon as poſſible was a matter of indiſpenſible neceſſity; this could only be done by immediately iſſuing theſe orders. Thus driven, how could the Colonel fight off? No vague converſation would ſerve Him here.—Yet, from his Self We learn, He did fight off; only vague converſation paſt. Mark, then, Reader, what it is to fight off; what is vague converſation in the idea of a military officer at Madraſs. *The Colonel* " *declared upon his honour, that if* " *the Tappies were detained, he would iſſue the orders that night.*" The Colonel appeals to the memory of Mr. Secretary Sullivan; to Him too, I appeal. Will Mr. Secretary Sullivan deny that Colonel Stuart promiſed upon his honour to iſſue to the out-garriſons the order of Sir Robert Fletcher's arreſt if the Tappies were detained? In conſequence of this promiſe, was not Mr. Secretary Sullivan commanded to detain the Tappies? To expedite the iſſuing of theſe orders, did not Mr. Secretary Sullivan promiſe to ſend aſſiſtants to the Adjutant General?—How unworthily have Mr. Stratton and his adherents repreſented the conduct of the Colonel, in alleging that his anſwers were, *ſo exceedingly evaſive*.—He fought off, He maintained a vague converſation; but I appeal to any man's candour, whether anſwers like theſe can be called evaſive?

Auguſt 24th. half paſt ſeven o'clock, the Colonel goes with Lord Pigot, in Lord Pigot's chaiſe to ſup with Him.

When Lord Pigot invited Colonel Stuart to ſup with Him, the Colonel accepted the invitation. But this was not all. The good Colonel—*having no conveyance of his own, requeſted of Lord Pigot to take him in his chaiſe*. This requeſt was readily granted. Here I am ſenſible that many will blame his Lordſhip, will accuſe Him of want of caution. From this charge I cannot perhaps altogether exculpate Him: yet neither would I altogether condemn Him. Nations have their characters, Individuals theirs. One man has a

heart;

heart; another has *only* a *head*. In point of *ruſe*, in point of artifice, the conteſt between theſe men will always be unequal. There are deſigns, beſides, which are ſomething more than treacherous; which even treachery itſelf would ſcarce ſuſpect. Deſigns like theſe, require no great concealment. Their blackneſs veils them from the eye of ſuſpicion. To this very circumſtance perhaps the ſucceſs of the preſent ſcheme was in ſome degree owing; to this very circumſtance, joined "*to his own knowlege of the man*"—as the Colonel expreſſes his Self—He ſeems to have truſted.—The phlegm of a Dutchman might have pauſed; might have felt the ground; might have ſaved Him from the ſnare. The keen eye of certain Italians might have pierced the veil. But an honeſt, worthy Spaniard would have fallen headlong into the ſnare. Not a ſuſpicious Greek in any of the iſlands of the Archipelago; not a Jew in the kingdom of Poland; not one of the reſpectable inhabitants of Duke's-place; would perhaps have been caught in ſuch a ſnare. But many a country Gentleman; many a member of the Houſe of Commons; all, perhaps, but two or three of our Houſe of Lords; many a military, many a naval officer, might have fallen into it. Certain it is, that Lord Pigot, entrenched, as He thought, in the Conſtitution; guarded, as He conceived, by the commiſſion of Government, which declared He could not be removed but by the Court of Directors; had not the ſmalleſt apprehenſions of any deſign againſt his perſon. Relying on a ſoldier's plighted honour, relying on the rights of hoſpitality, ſuch were his feelings, that He would have rejected with abhorrence every idea that the man, who had accepted an appointment under him; who had received his commands; who had pledged his honour to obey them; who had invited his Self to his table; who had invited his Self to a ſeat in his chaiſe; had put on this maſk of obedience and friendſhip, that he might more ſucceſsfully form, concert, complete, and execute, the plan of depriving Him of his Government, arreſting his perſon, throwing him into priſon and endangering his life.

The

August 24. 8 o'clock, Colonel Stuart arrests Lord Pigot.

The man who could form ſuch a deſign muſt have exulted at its approaching ſucceſs. Such as the poet has deſcribed the feelings of certain beings, when, the regions of Chaos being paſt, they firſt landed on the new-created world; ſuch, I preſume, muſt have been the feelings of Colonel Stuart when, his Lordſhip's ſword being delivered to his ſervant; the reins in his hand; the Colonel vaulted into the chaiſe, felt his Self faſt ſeated by the ſide of his unſuſpecting victim. The place of ſacrifice was at hand: the chaiſe moved forward; on the iſland, between the two bridges, Lieutenant Colonel Edington (the Adjutant-general) came running aſlant the road, from the ſouthern ſide, towards the chaiſe. His Lordſhip ſaw Him. Unſuſpicious now, as at the firſt, He reined his horſes: ſuffered Edington to come near; ſuppoſing He had ſome report to make; or ſome order to receive. Judge then of the triumph of Colonel Stuart, judge of the feelings of Lord Pigot; when, ſtanding at the head of the horſes, waving his naked ſword, the adjutant called his Seapoys: when the Seapoys, obedient to the ſignal, ruſhed from their ambuſcade, ſurrounded the chaiſe; and afforded to the inhabitants of India the triumphant ſpectacle of an Engliſh officer (*y*), his piſtol in his hand, ſeizing the perſon of his Governor; of an Engliſh Governor, arreſted within the limits of his own command by *Indian* ſoldiers, headed by Engliſh officers. The triumph was too great. Even the coolneſs of Colonel Stuart could not ſupport it. The calmneſs of his ſoul was ruffled by this ſwell of ſucceſs. Whilſt He meditated, planned, concerted, completed, the ſcheme; He was *cool*, temperate, on his guard: but ſucceſs unhinged Him; He forgot his Self: his coolneſs forſook Him; He was agitated: *He ſeized the arm of the Governor*; and in a ſtile and tone, for once, well adapted to the deed, ſaid—"*Go out, Sir.*"—Not the minuteſt circumſtance attending this tranſaction, but is characteriſtic. The chaiſe of Mr. *Benfield* was choſen to carry his Lordſhip, a priſoner to the Mount:

(*y*) Captain Lyſaught.

The

The chaiſe of Lord Pigot was the car which conducted Colonel Stuart in triumph to the Fort (z).

August 24. The faction take poſſeſſion of the Fort-houſe.

Whilſt Captain Lyſaught, his piſtol in his hand, was conducting the Governor, in Mr. Benfield's chaiſe, to the Mount, Colonel Stuart ſent his faithful Adjutant to the faction of Seven: who, aſſembled in conclave, were waiting, in fearful expectation, the event. They received, with all due exultation, the welcome tidings; that the Governor was in arreſt; that the army was diſpoſed to ſubmit to their uſurped authority; and—what for the moment ſeems to have pleaſed Them more than all—that "every thing was "ready for their reception in the Fort-ſquare."

Iſſue a Proclamation.

To the Fort-ſquare then they flew: and, "*being thus legally* "*aſſembled* (a)", They called all the military officers of the garriſon before them, to whom They read the proclamation, which the reader will find in the Appendix (b); and which, we are told, met with their unanimous concurrence (c). By what right a ſet of private individuals, having no commiſſion from the King, dare to iſſue a proclamation, in the name of the King, may, perhaps, in due

(z) Many of the principal circumſtances in the preceding account of this tranſaction are given, as the reader will obſerve, in the words of Colonel Stuart: the others are taken from Lord Pigot's Narrative. Both equally authentic. There is another account given by Colonel Capper. But this totally diſagrees with Colonel Stuart's: In particular a long ſpeech is put into Colonel Stuart's mouth, which, though a great ſpeaker, He certainly would not have made then, or *there*. What account General Clavering had ſeen of this affair, I know not; probably ſome other hiſtorian's. For He diſcovers "*Spirit* and *Magnanimity* in the conduct "of *ſo difficult and dangerous a buſineſs*."

(a) The change of place made, no doubt, a very material change in the legality of the meeting. Could the diſputing Society of Robinhood but get into the Houſe of Commons, ſeat their Preſident in the Speaker's chair, change the hammer of the one for the mace of the other, who can doubt whether, thus ſeated, They would not be the legal repreſentatives of the good people of England!

(b) Folio 69—72.

(c) Papers, vol. i. folio 393, 394.

time, be enquired by a proper authority. Who deputed Them to repreſent the Engliſh nation; to ſpeak in the name of the nation; whence They acquired their *enacting power*; They alone can tell us. For the reſt of the proclamation We ſhall leave it to the remarks of the reader. The whole of it; its *demonſtrations*; its *ſuppoſitions*; its arguments; are too ridiculous to be ſubmitted to the teſt of ſober criticiſm (*d*). Their ſtatement of facts is, in ſome places, partial; in others, falſe: but to theſe no anſwer is now required: they have been fully anſwered already. Two things, however, are too remarkable to be unnoticed. Uniting the regal ſtile of proclamation with the parliamentary language of enacting, They "enact and proclaim, that George Stratton, Eſq. is, ac-"cording to *the orders of the Company*, Preſident of the Council and "Governor of Fort St. George." Theſe orders of the Company were, I ſuppoſe, conveyed to Them by the ſame unknown meſſenger which brought the authority under which They act from the King and the nation. To ſuch accumulated powers all things are poſſible. At one and the ſame time Colonel Stuart might command the garriſon; and Mr. Stratton be Governor of the Fort. They farther *enact and proclaim*, "that the powers of Lord Pigot "and Meſſrs. Ruſſell, Dalrymple, and Stone, ſtand annulled." And They further proclaim, but They do not enact, "that all ſervants, "civil and military, ſhall be indemnified." Indemnified! For what! For their obedience to what They call the legal Government! If their Government were legal, no indemnification could be wanting. The idea of indemnification ſuppoſes ſomething illegal; for legal acts the law indemnifies. This They felt; yet for obedience to their orders, for ſubmiſſion to their uſurpation,

(*d*) Take one ſample. "An attempt"—ſpeaking of the ſuſpenſion of Stratton and Brooke—"which, if by law or cuſtom it could have any effect, it muſt vir-"tually have ſuſpended his own authority, his being but a part of the Government "which He attempted thus to ſupercede." If any man can underſtand this I envy him his capacity. I envy him his patience if he can gravely ſit down to anſwer it.

They

They meant, but dared not ſay They meant, to indemnify. This indemnification then is to be, in their own words "againſt any "oppreſſions or diſadvantages theſe ſervants have, or may ſuffer "by the uſurped authority of Lord Pigot or his aſſociates." According to their own ſtatement this *uſurped authority* commenced only on Thurſday the 22d Auguſt at noon; and ended by his impriſonment on the 24th in the evening. During that time no oppreſſion, no diſadvantage, according to their own ſhewing, had ariſen to any, except ſuſpenſions rendered ineffectual; an order for an arreſt which had not been obeyed. What was there here to indemnify? More then is meant than meets the ear. They meant to indemnify for obedience to their orders; for ſubmiſſion to their uſurpation. Perhaps they may hereafter, in their individual capacity, be taught what is the legal conſtruction of theſe words.

Suſpend Meſſrs. Ruſſel, Dalrymple, and Stone.

The grand complaint, We have ſeen, which the faction urged againſt Lord Pigot was what They call, an arbitrary and illegal ſuſpenſion of members of the Council. The firſt act of their Government, after, by the ſeizure of the Fort-houſe, They became, as They conceived, a legal Council, was to annul, by a reſolution, the powers—meaning their legal powers as members of the Board—of Meſſrs. Ruſſell, Dalrymple, and Stone (*e*). Their next, I ſuppoſe, though it do not ſtand upon record, to re-create what They had annulled; in order to make way for their third act, which was to *ſuſpend* Them, during the pleaſure of the Company.

Auguſt 25. Promiſe of gratification to the garriſon.

On the next day the conſtitution of the uſurped Government was given out in public orders (*f*). The proclamation was diſpatched with orders to be publiſhed in the reſpective ſettlements, and by all the officers commanding garriſons and detachments on the coaſt, including Tanjore (*g*). Thus far We learn from the

(*e*) See Papers, vol. i. folio 399—401.
(*f*) See Appendix, O. No. 1. folio 68.
(*g*) Papers, vol. i. folio 405, 406.

minutes tranſmitted by the faction. But there is another part of the general orders of that day, which does not ſtand in their account of the proceedings. It is ſhort, but material. "The Preſi-"dent and Council being upon the report of Colonel Stuart, "thoroughly ſatisfied with the conduct of the officers and men "compoſing the garriſon, have empowered Him to aſſure them "They ſhall meet with a *proper gratification*."

Reflections on the manner and inſtruments employed.

The queſtions of right or wrong, of legality or illegality, in the conduct of the faction is now diſmiſt. On that point, ere this, the Reader muſt have formed his judgment. But let him reflect one moment on the *manner* in which the Government of Fort St. George was overthrown; on the *inſtruments* which were employed to overthrow it. To conduct this buſineſs; to depoſe a Governor; the civil ſervants of the Company employ the army; thank the army; reward the army; give to the ſoldiers of that army *proper gratifications*; to the Commander of that army had been a poſt which always intruſted to the civil Governor. And what part of the army did They employ? Not Europeans; not troops enured to diſcipline; not troops who had no intereſt in frequent revolutions: but Seapoys; but troops of the country; but troops who muſt wiſh for frequent revolutions; but troops whoſe obedience was ſecured only by the awful reſpect, with which they were accuſtomed to conſider the great officers of the Company. That charm is now diſſolved. The Prætorian Band in the Roman empire; the Strelitz of Ruſſia; the Janiſaries of the Porte; may teach Us how dangerous it is to inſtruct an army in this ſpecies of political arithmetic. Thanked, rewarded, for depoſing one Governor; they will ſoon learn to merit rewards, and thanks by depoſing another. The Princes of the country will catch inſtruction; They too will learn to thank and to reward an army, that may unite in expelling Governors, and Councils, and Factors, and all. They have taught a leſſon which may, which repeated, in the natural courſe of events, muſt, end in the extirpation of the Engliſh name from the whole country

country of Indoſtan. It is not thus "*the due ſubordination* of the "military to the civil power is to be eſtabliſhed." Nor will the good Colonel's "declaration of his ſentiments upon the nature of "a free Government;" nor will his inſtructive "converſations in "large" or in any "companies;" at any "criſis," in any "day," or in any "ſquare:" nor will his "public conſtitutional toaſt," given on any "occaſion;" though, as at the carouſals of the Dane, the ſound of drum and trumpet, and the mouth of the yet louder cannon, bruited back the toaſt; will He thus teach the army to wait for Juſtice, in ſubordination to the civil power (*h*).

Subſequent conduct of the faction, with reſpect to Lord Pigot, Auguſt 25.

Here our taſk might end. Whatever be the ſubſequent conduct of the faction, Lord Pigot is fully defended; they are clearly condemned. No ſubſequent event can change the nature of the paſt. For aſſerting the legal rights of the Preſident, for maintaining the laws of the Conſtitution, Lord Pigot was illegally depoſed; in the moſt unbecoming manner, by the moſt dangerous inſtruments. But, compelled to appeal to the public, to that public We owe a ſhort account of the ſucceeding conduct of the uſurpers: We owe it to the public to ſtate their inveterate hatred to Lord Pigot; their inſolent treatment of a faithful, their mean ſubmiſſion to a dangerous, ally. They went on to direct that the friends of Lord Pigot ſhould convey no papers to be ſigned by Him: to apply to the Nabob for a party of his horſe to be put under the command of the officer who guarded Lord Pigot, and to be employed for ſuch purpoſes as that officer ſhould think neceſſary. "In caſe of any at-"tempt to reſcue Lord Pigot"—though no ſuch attempt had been "made; nor were there grounds to ſuſpect it—they ordered that "*his life ſhould anſwer for it* (*i*)." They ſuſpended Mr. Lathom; without hearing Him, on the examination of Mr. Sullivan, taken in *his abſence* (*k*). They refuſed his Lordſhip's deſire to remain at the large houſe at the Mount in company with his family under the *guard of an officer to be conſtantly with Him* (*l*). They ſuſpended

(*b*) See the truly laughable concluſion of Colonel Stuart's Report.

(*i*) Papers, vol. i. folio 407. (*k*) See ib. folio 408—411. (*l*) See ib. folio 415.

Mr.

August 26. Mr. Mordaunt (*m*) "*without a moment's hesitation*," for declaring his opinion, that, unleſs Lord Pigot's commiſſion were cancelled by the authority from which He derived it, He felt his Self in duty bound to acknowlege Him, and Him only, as Governor and Preſident of

August 27. Fort St. George. On information received of Colonel Stuart *, ſupported by no proof, that there was tampering with the troops at the Mount, by perſons in the intereſt of Lord Pigot; under a pretended fear of evils, which might ariſe from the violent diſpoſitions of the friends of Lord Pigot, "manifeſted," as they ſay, but of which they could not produce a ſingle proof; they reſolved that Lord Pigot ſhould be removed to Chingleput, and they gave to Colonel Stuart an indefinite power "*to take any further meaſures he might* "*judge neceſſary for the ſecurity*,"—as they pretended — "*of his* "*Lordſhip's perſon* (*n*). And from a delicate deſire of not alarming the ladies of Lord Pigot's family, They order this forcible removal to be made in the dead of night (*o*): They rejected the re-

(*m*) Agent for the Seapoy Half Mountings—See ibid. folio 420.

* It is curious to obſerve the manœuvres of the Colonel and the faction. Colonel Stuart ſays, "the Board received information" (Papers, vol. ii. folio 242) The faction ſays, "the Preſident received the information from Colonel Stuart." (vol. i. 426) On the 26th, Stuart orders Major Cooke to Chingleput; on the 27th, he gives his information to Stratton. (Papers, vol. ii. 242).

(*n*) Ibid. folio 426, 427.—During the courſe of this very Conſultation the *apprehenſions* of Colonel Stuart are changed into "*certain intercepted letters*."—See ibid. folio 432. But no ſuch letters were produced. They were aſhamed, I ſuppoſe, of telling Major Horne, that They meant to remove Lord Pigot *to quiet the apprehenſions of Colonel Stuart*. Neither in their inſtructions to Colonel Stuart, Major Cook, or Major Horne, do they ſay Lord Pigot is to be conveyed to Chingleput, but only mention "a place of more ſafety;" the place of "his de-"ſtination.

(*o*) See Colonel Stuart's Report and Papers, vol. I. folio 432. Colonel Edington, charged with theſe orders, refuſed to ſhew them, or make known to his Lordſhip whither he was to conduct him. He ſays in his depoſition he was not permitted to ſhew the orders, or tell his place of deſtination. His Lordſhip's firmneſs defeated their purpoſe. *Mr. Benfield's poſt-chaiſe*, in which was an orderly Serjeant with a loaded piſtol, was in waiting to carry off his Lordſhip; and parties of the *Nabob's troops* were waiting at proper diſtances to *eſcort* him, in Mr. Haſtings's ſenſe of the word.

quiſition

quiſition of the Commander of his Majeſty's ſhips, made *in the name of his Majeſty*, to give his Lordſhip ſafe-conduct to his ſhip: And, as if they meant to add mockery to inſult, they pretended, at the ſame time, to make his Lordſhip an offer to remove him to any other ſettlement on the coaſt; or to allow him to embark on any of the Company's ſhips for Europe (*p*). They allowed only one of his Lordſhip's friends to aſſiſt him in preparing his diſpatches; and thoſe diſpatches were to be written by his Self (*q*). They took the earlieſt opportunity of giving *proper recompence* to the army, by reſtoring the *half* Batta, which had been taken off in the beginning of the year (*r*). With the ſame munificence the allowance to the non-commiſſioned officers and private for one day's march was doubled (*s*). The reaſons of this increaſe of the military expences need not be pointed out. Anxious to deprive his Lordſhip of every legal reſource, they conſidered how they might defeat his application to the Mayor's Court, for a writ of Habeas Corpus: Happily for them, perhaps, the opinion of Mr. Juſtice Le Maitre, declaring that Court to be incompetent to iſſue ſuch a writ, ſaved them from another violation of the law (*t*). They refuſed Mr. Dalrymple acceſs to any of the

August 29.

Sept. 1.

Sept. 2.

(*p*) Papers, vol. I. folio 436—438. On this day, though it does not ſtand on their Minutes, Mr. Stratton returned a viſit he had received from the Nabob. He was attended on this occaſion by two companies of Seapoys, and a part of the Nabob's cavalry.

(*q*) Papers, vol. I. folio 441. So that in caſe of any indiſpoſition he was to ſend no diſpatches.

(*r*) See Ibid. fol. 444, 445. This was recommended by Sir Robert Fletcher on Colonel Stuart's repreſentation, on the 19th of Auguſt, that is, juſt five days before Lord Pigot was arreſted.

(*s*) Ibid. folio 445. That is twelve miles inſtead of twenty-five was now to be conſidered as a day's march. This day a paper was delivered to Mr. Stratton and his adherents, in which they are not ſtiled Preſident and Council, proteſting againſt the depoſition of Lord Pigot, declaring it was not effected with the concurrence of the civil ſervants. It was ſigned by thirty-ſeven Gentlemen, beſides one other, who afterwards withdrew his name. Folio 448, 449. Yet in a ſubſequent letter to Bengal, they boaſt of every impartial perſon in the ſettlement.

(*t*) Papers, vol. I. folio 513, 514.—They had given Major Horne an indemnification for acting in obedience to their orders.—Folio 522.

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Company's records (*u*). They kept back from Lord Pigot the letters and reſolutions of the Governor and Council of Bengal, though they materially affected his Lordſhip. The pretext was the fear of giving him uneaſineſs, a delicacy of which the reader will not now ſuſpect them. The real reaſon was obvious. They did not wiſh he ſhould have time or leiſure to remark on them (*x*). They propoſed to the Commander of his Majeſty's ſhips the moſt ridiculous terms, as the conditions on which they *might perhaps* conſent, to ſuffer his Lordſhip to enjoy, what he had claimed, the protection of his Majeſty's flag (*y*). Mr. Munro, the ſtore-keeper at Chingleput, having addreſſed a letter, containing a return of ſtores—" to Mr. George Stratton, who ſtiles his Self Preſident of the Council, and Go-" vernor of Fort St. George,"—was ſuſpended from the ſervice of the Company (*z*). So notorious was the hatred which they bore to Lord Pigot, that Mr. Benfield did not heſitate to addreſs to *their* Board, a letter requiring their ſupport and aſſiſtance in obtaining evidence reſiding *within the bounds* of Tanjore, or in places belonging to *the Nabob* of the Carnatic, to prove Lord Pigot guilty of a breach of an Act of Parliament, and unfaithful to his truſt to the Company. In anſwer to this, they had indeed the grace, writing publicly as a Board, to preſcribe bounds indefinite enough, to the

Sept. 13.

(*u*) Ibid. 524.

(*x*) Ibid. 527.

(*y*) Ibid. 530—533. Among others, " whether Sir Edward Hughes would be " reſponſible, that no *individual*, either European, or native, ſhould ſuffer in his " life, perſon, or *property*, from his Lordſhip being permitted to go on board his " ſhip." So that if his Lordſhip, being at liberty, had commenced an action, and recovered damages for falſe impriſonment, Sir Edward, I ſuppoſe, was to pay the amount of thoſe damages. Upon Sir Edward's refuſing to anſwer theſe ridiculous propoſals, they refuſed their conſent to his Lordſhip's removal, on Sir Edward's ſecond requiſition.

(*z*) Papers, vol. I. folio 575, 576. Mr. Munro was *doubly* right in his addreſs. Stratton certainly only *ſtiled* himſelf Governor of Fort St. George; he was not actually Governor; for he had not the command of the garriſon. Here again they made uſe of the ſame argument for not giving time to anſwer, as in the caſe of Mr. Macpherſon. Why did they not ſuſpend the thirty-ſeven ſervants?

aſſiſt-

aſſiſtance they engaged to give: They could only *recommend* it to the Princes in alliance with the Company to permit ſuch of their ſubjects to come to Madraſs, as might be *neceſſary* to give evidence. But they have their mental reſervations: though as a *Board* they could do no more; yet the fit Preſident of that Board could explain to the Vakeel of a prince in alliance, the whole extent of that recommendation. In the way of a Vakeel "*many temptations may be thrown:*" What it is intended witneſſes *ſhould* prove, may be related as a fact the good Preſident has heard, and, from his attachment to the Maſter of the Vakeel, has heard, with grief and indignation:—"Oh, Sir, the Prince your maſter muſt be much im-"poveriſhed by the *money* he gave to Lord Pigot: and how un-"worthy in his Lordſhip to rob the good Prince of *thoſe two fine* "diamonds, of ſo immenſe a value: You know what I mean; the "*one flat and ſquare*, the *other thick and oval:* And then again, "how ſhameful in Lord Pigot to force his old friend to give his "obligations for money; and to aſſign thoſe four hundred thou-"ſand cullums of grain that came here from Tanjore. Theſe are "vile things, Sir; on all theſe points no doubt your zeal for your "maſter will induce you to make proper enquiries: you will no "doubt *endeavour* to bring his Lordſhip in guilty." Should the Vakeel, more honeſt than miniſters ſometimes are, repreſent "that "his Lordſhip had refuſed even the honorary dreſs;"—"that ſo "far from *money* or *effects* to beſtow on *others*, when he was re-"ſtored the Prince had not a carpet to ſit upon his Self"—"that "the Nabob had robbed him of his jewels"—"that no other grain "had been ſent than what had been bought for the uſe of the Company." To a miniſter ſo impertinently honeſt, a Preſident, whoſe zeal got the better of his politeneſs, would anſwer—"*You* "*lie.*"—Again he might ſoften his tone; again throw many temptations in the way of the Vakeel: "Come, come, make me maſter "of this buſineſs, acquaint me fully with it, and I will be *very much*

"*your Friend* (*a*)."—This converſation is not the child of imagination. It is the very account given by the Vakeel of the Rajah, of
Sept. 27. a converſation between him and Mr. Stratton. Even in priſon his Lordſhip is terrible. They accuſe him of peculation: Were he removed, they could have proofs: but his preſence, even in priſon, intimidates: they boaſt of the attachment of the civil and military ſervants of the Company; yet they are hourly alarmed leſt thoſe ſervants ſhould aſſiſt in replacing Lord Pigot in the chair. So early as the 25th of September, with great *privacy*, and with the utmoſt *confidence*, Mr. Stratton informs Mr. Roberts that it was, in a manner, reſolved to ſend "his Lordſhip "to be judged by his conſtituents." This was then a ſecret: Mr. Stratton "had not mentioned it to the Council:" but he knew the opinion of the Council; he knew the opinion of the *Nabob*: they were clearly for it: He waited only the opinion of the Governor-general and Council of Bengal: from that quarter there had hitherto been a happy concurrence of opinion: then this ſecret would come out; and Lord Pigot would be ſent to England (*b*). The opinion however of the Governor-general and Council was not ſo deciſive as they expected. "It is, ſay they, improper to "offer our opinion, for we have no *legal* authority to decide (*c*):"—"To *decline* giving our *opinion* may tend to weaken the public opi-"nion of your authority."—"In this dilemma we chuſe to *ſuſpend* "rather than *decline* a direct anſwer."—"After ſo alarming an expoſi-

(*a*) See Papers, vol. II. folio 23 and 36, and folio 257, 258. The diamonds Mr. Stratton mentioned in a confidential letter to Mr. Roberts; which confidential letter Mr. Roberts prints. The diamonds are deſcribed in the letter, but not in the converſation with the Vakeel.

(*b*) Papers, vol. II. folio 98. Stratton ſays he had not yet communicated this *private* matter to the Council; yet he tells Mr. Roberts the opinion of the *Council*, "the opinion of the *Nabob*; and ſays they only waited for the opinion of the "*Governor and Council* of Bengal." How do the faction conduct buſineſs? Do they write their public letters *out* of what they call *Council*?

(*c*) They had not legal authority to *order* the ſubordinate Preſidencies to acknowledge Stratton and his adherents; yet they did *order* them.

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" tion of facts (*d*), and ſo decided a conviction of their conſequences, " the concluſion appears ſelf-evident." " You have nothing to conſi- " ſider but the conſiſtency and vigour of your Councils:"—" We re- " peat the aſſurances We have already given You of our fixt reſolu- " tion to afford You every ſupport within our power (*e*)." Thin as was the veil which They threw acroſs them; though it revealed, whilſt it ſeemed to hide, the rancor of their hearts; it was not what Mr. Stratton expected. The Nabob, whom We have heard from Stratton, as in duty bound, the faction had, with all due ſubmiſſion, conſulted on the occaſion, changed his mind, hung back, diſap- proved it (*f*). The ſettlement remonſtrated in bold and manly terms againſt ſo unprecedented and illegal an act of violence (*g*). This ſeeming dereliction on one part, this oppoſition on another, added to the firmneſs of Lord Pigot, threw ſuch a damp on their ſpirits, that not all Colonel Stuart could ſay, notwithſtanding the teſtimony of his conſcience, when He lay, as He thought, upon his death- bed—" that all was right within:" though He urged that a war with France might be the conſequence of keeping " this powerful " Pretender at the gates of the fortreſs (*h*):" They felt bold only by halves. They attempted, indeed, to intimidate his Lordſhip: in their private juntos They reſolved that He ſhould be ſent home a priſoner in the Lioneſs. But even in their Council They dared not ſupport it. The good old veteran, and the honeſt Colonel were deſerted. Stratton dared not ſupport Them (*i*). A reſolu- tion adopted raſhly, announced haſtily, was at laſt meanly abandoned.

But enough of their treatment of Lord Pigot; of that unre- mitting hatred; of that implacable rancor, which can be excited only by the reſentment which never dies—the reſentment of Him To the Nabob.

(*d*) Which the faction knew, and the Governor-general, &c. believed, to be falſe.
(*e*) See a Letter from Bengal to Fort St. George, dated Nov. 11, 1776. India Houſe.
(*f*) See a Letter from Fort St. George, Jan. 22, 1777.
(*g*) This Remonſtrance was ſigned by forty-three gentlemen. India Houſe.
(*h*) See a moſt pompous minute of Colonel Stuart, Jan. 7, 1777. India Houſe.
(*i*) See Minutes of Conſultation, Jan. 7. India Houſe.

who has injured. Their conduct towards the Nabob has been ſuch as might be expected; ſubmiſſive, mean. The very morning after Lord Pigot's arreſt, the Nabob was received with unuſual pomp at the Fort. He gave public teſtimonies of his rejoicing (*k*). It does not ſtand upon their Minutes, but they know, that Mr. Stratton, four days after, returned this viſit; attended by two Companies of Seapoys; and eſcorted *by the cavalry of the Nabob*. They know theſe indecent ceremonies were repeated (*l*). They know that midnight Councils have been holden at the Durbar (*m*). They avow that They communicated to the Nabob the imprudent diſpatches from Bengal; diſpatches in which the thoughtleſs ſtateſmen teach the ambitious Nabob—too ready to overlook his former ſupporters, changed from the object of our pity to that of our fear—that He is entitled to all the rights of an independent Prince, over whom the Company has no kind of control (*n*). They acknowlege that They have treated Him as if He had a right of control over the Company: They acknowlege that They aſked his opinion whether their Governor ſhould be releaſed; or kept in confinement; or ſent a priſoner home (*o*).

And to the Rajah.

To the Rajah their conduct has been as inſolent, as to the Nabob it has been ſubmiſſive and mean. Mr. Stratton politely tells Him, He knows Him to be "timorous, fickle, weak (*p*)." The Rajah intreats that Comera Dubaſh may not be permitted to come till the month of January (*q*). Without regard to his entreaties Comera is permitted to go. Mr. Benfield too is permitted to go. He is armed with letters from Mr. Stratton. He is armed too

(*k*) See Papers, vol. ii. p. 13.

(*l*) Yet the modeſt Mr. Stratton, in his Letter to Mr. Roberts renounced "the "pomps and vanities of this wicked world."

(*m*) One in particular on the 9th of September.

(*n*) Papers, vol. i. fol. 580. Vol. ii. folio 341.

(*o*) See Stratton's Letter to Mr. Roberts.

(*p*) Papers, vol. ii. fol. 15. Thoſe words appear in the Rajah's letter to his Vakeel: Mr. Stratton, in his copy, prudently ſuppreſſed them.

(*q*) Ibid. vol. i. fol 561.

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with orders from the Nabob on the people of the country (*r*). How Mr. Stratton treated the Vakeel of the Rajah We have already ſeen. How theſe men treated the Rajah, from the Rajah We may learn. They dictated letters to Him; threatened Him with the diſpleaſure of the faction, with impriſonment—"*with being in the "ſame ſituation as his Lordſhip*"—if He refuſed to write letters of accuſation againſt Lord Pigot (*s*). The Rajah married: it is uſual in a Governor to write letters of congratulation: his mother died; it is uſual in a Governor to write letters of condolance: But Mr. Stratton is not a man of etiquette. To a Prince in diſtreſs attention is not due. He ſent a dreſs: it was the richeſt his finances could afford; Mr. Stratton *threw it away*. He wrote letters; Mr. Stratton did not like them; deſired Him to recall them; to write letters more agreeable: He ſent money for the Company; Mr. Stratton does not condeſcend to give either anſwer or receipt. He ſends corn; Mr. Stratton neither fixes the price, nor ſettles the payment. But other accounts Mr. Stratton is ready to ſettle. He demands the Dobbeer may be ſent, that *He* may ſettle the Nabob's accounts (*t*).—But I muſt have done. To ſtate all the complaints would fill another volume.

Of the waſte of the Company's treaſury, of other inſtances of their miſconduct, it is not, and I am happy that it is not, mine to ſpeak. I meant only to give a general idea of the criminality of their conduct, ſo far as regards Lord Pigot; and the meaſures Lord Pigot had adopted. From their own account that criminality was ſhortly, but ſtrongly expoſed by a near relation of the noble

General idea of their conduct.

(*r*) See Lord Pigot's Diary. India Houſe.

(*s*) See Papers, vol. ii. fol. 21, 22. They added—"*Four Counſellors ſhall be "ſtationed here.*"—This accounts for what Stratton ſo unfairly relates of the Rajah's not deſiring a Council at Tanjore. No doubt He was terrified at the idea of ſeeing four of *their creatures ſtationed*, as Comera very properly calls it, there.

(*t*) All theſe complaints are in *one* letter from the Rajah to his Vakeel, dated 16, received 19 Feb. 1777. India Houſe.

Lord

Lord (*u*).—Lord Pigot by commiſſion to Him and the Council was conſtituted Governor till removed by the *order of the Company*; they have removed Him by *their own authority*, and appointed Mr. Stratton in his place.—Lord Pigot had a *ſeparate* commiſſion, as Commander in Chief of Fort St. George and the forces in it *during the pleaſure of the Company*; they have conferred that command on another.—They avow that They *cannot* ſtate any *ſpecific offence*, which can *legally* warrant the impriſonment of Lord Pigot; cannot reduce their charges to any number of heads; yet They have impriſoned Him, and ſtill continue Him in confinement; under the common plea of tyrants; of *ſtate-crimes*, *ſtate-neceſſity*, and *reaſons of ſtate*.—Had Lord Pigot been lawfully impriſoned for high treaſon itſelf He would not have been puniſhable in *any* degree, for the attempt of *others* to reſcue Him: yet they gave a *written order* to take away *his life* in caſe of any *ſuch* attempt.—They repreſent the revolution to have been effected with the *almoſt univerſal approbation* both of the civil and military departments: and they ſend over a *proteſt againſt* it ſigned by *thirty-ſeven* of the *civil* ſervants of the Company; and They avow their apprehenſions of a riſing in the army; they allege the Government cannot be ſafe, if Lord Pigot be at liberty.—They boaſt of their attention to Lord Pigot's *perſonal ſecurity*; yet they attempted to remove Him from the cuſtody of Major Horne, with four hundred men under his command, where therefore He was perfectly ſafe; yet this removal was to be *at the dead of night*; yet the officer appointed to execute this *dark* commiſſion, was not permitted to tell his Lordſhip the place of his deſtination: not permitted to produce his orders: yet this officer was at the head only of a ſmall party: yet a regiment of the Nabob's cavalry, was aſſembled in the neighbourhood.—They boaſt of the concurrence of every impartial perſon in the Settlement: and they ſend over a remonſtrance ſigned by forty-three ſervants of the Company, which kept them from committing another act of

(*u*) See Admiral Pigot's letter to the Proprietors, May 6, 1777.

violence.

violence.—They aſſert the *neceſſity* of removing Lord Pigot to Chingleput; yet they allow, that the poſitive orders They gave for this purpoſe were diſappointed of execution by the *firm reſiſtance* of Lord Pigot, and the *affectionate ſenſibility* of the *officers* and *ſoldiers* who guarded Him; yet They have not dared to repeat an experiment ſo offenſive.—They affect to be willing to give Lord Pigot the choice of going, either on board one of the *Company's ſhips*, or to any ſubordinate ſettlement; yet they peremptorily refuſed to ſurrender his perſon to his *Majeſty's naval Commander*, who ſent them two *ineffectual requiſitions* in the *name of his Majeſty*.—They complain of *arbitrary ſuſpenſions* from the Council; yet They have *excluded four Counſellors*, merely becauſe They *voted* with Lord Pigot; They expel individual ſervants for refuſing them thoſe titles; which a whole ſettlement, which almoſt all their Factors at their own ſettlement have publickly refuſed them. They extol Colonel Stuart in the moſt extravagant terms, for enabling them to uſurp the Government; yet They expreſsly ſay, that He *deceived* Lord Pigot and his friends by the *moſt evaſive anſwers*; yet the Colonel, in *his own report*, admits, that He *pretended* to *deliberate* about acting under an appointment from one party, when He was planning the execution of orders from the other; yet they were compelled to bribe the army by entailing a perpetual expence on their maſters.—It is their duty to excite in the Rajah ideas of firm dependence on the friendſhip of the Engliſh: yet They with-hold from Him, in a moment of diſtreſs, the money due to Him for corn; treat Him with diſreſpect; inſult his Vakeel; ſuffer their dependents to inſult his perſon: recall from his capital an officer, in whom He confided; appoint another whom He diſlikes.—It was their duty, for They were expreſsly commanded, to check the Nabob in his views to independence: yet They betray to Him the ſecrets of the Company: tranſmit to Him letters which cheriſh his ideas of independence; which invite Him to claim, as a right, the interference of the King, of the Parliament, of foreign nations, in ſupport of that independence; yet They *meanly* conſult Him by

letter,

letter, about the propriety of continuing their own Governor in confinement: yet They act as if, ceaſing to be ſervants of the Company, They were become inſtruments of the Nabob; as if their employers, from the reſpectable rank of *protectors* of his rights, and his Government, were degraded to the low and abject ſtate of dependents on his *will* and pleaſure.

* * * *

CONCLUSION.

Apology for this work.

Some apology is due to the Reader for this work: ſome perhaps for the ſtile; ſome for the length of it. There are who may think appeals to the public on queſtions like theſe, ſhould be avoided. Perhaps they ſhould. But to Us no choice was left. The friends of Lord Pigot were not the firſt to make the appeal. The agents of the Nabob, verſed in theſe literary conteſts (*x*), the friends of the faction, firſt ſounded the alarm: they got poſſeſſion of the daily prints. Then the preſs teemed with their *Letters*, their *Original Papers*, their accounts of *Secret Conferences*, ere the friends of Lord Pigot ſaid a word (*y*).

For the ſtile.

There are, who may object to the ſtile; as ſometimes too warm; as ſometimes too contemptuous. To the parties concerned I owe no apology. I have not diſturbed the aſhes of the dead to give weight to imputed crimes to the living (*z*). I come with proofs in my hand; I ſuppoſe nothing; I impute nothing; I refer to no ſecret conferrences; to no manuſcripts in poſſeſſion of an Indian prince. In a man ſupported by authentic documents, refuſing

(*x*) See Mr. Macpherſon's Memorial in the Appendix.

(*y*) For the effect theſe writings had upon the public the Reader may conſult the Monthly Review for Auguſt.

(*z*) The Reader perhaps may recollect ſome of the very indecent reflections thrown upon the family of Lord Pigot.

the

the moſt groundleſs charges, couched in the moſt illiberal terms, ſomething may be allowed to the warmth of friendſhip. Something to a character, too ſtubborn to yield to the flimſy refinements of falſe delicacy:

I love to pour out all myſelf, as plain
As downright Shippen, or as old Montaigne.

I would not impoſe ſo toilſome a taſk upon the Reader: but, were He to peruſe the publications on the other ſide, his Candour would allow that I can better claim than they the praiſe of making decency check the career of truth.

For the length.

To the length a more reaſonable objection may be made. But to that too I was compelled. A look, a ſhrug, will convey an imputation, which the converſation of an hour can ſcarce remove. A child may wound, in a moment, what the art of a ſurgeon muſt be employed whole months to cure. The caſual ſtroke of a flippant 'prentice may throw a ſtain upon a picture, which the repeated touches of the pencil can alone remove. Beſides, this is not a work of amuſement: it is not deſtined for fine ladies, or finer gentlemen: not intended to beguile the tedious moments which are paſſed under the diſcipline of the curling irons: it is addreſſed to men who can have patience to inveſtigate facts. It is not meant for general uſe; it is written for a particular claſs of readers. Their intereſt in the events which it relates, may give them ſtrength to bear the bulk of a large quarto.

Some charges left to another tribunal.

Much, indeed, would this work have been lengthened, had I ſaid all I could have truly ſaid againſt the conduct of the faction. Much, had I anſwered all the charges brought againſt Lord Pigot. They have talked of preſents received by his Lordſhip from the Nabob. The trifles He did receive He avowed to the Company. And ſuch very trifles were they, that when, to have accepted them was urged as a crime, the accuſers bluſhed; the accuſation faultered on the tongue. They have talked of penſions from the Na-

bob; of preſents from the Rajah; of bonds and orders; of diamonds flat and ſquare, thick and oval. Not to the tribunal of the public, to the courts of law ſhould theſe charges be exhibited. There too ſhould They be anſwered. We dare Them to the trial. What pains They have taken to get at legal evidence They have told Us; that They have not yet *obtained* that evidence, They have told Us; when They ſhall have obtained it They will, I ſuppoſe, tell us. Meanwhile, let Them allow Us to laugh at efforts, as fruitleſs as they are malicious, leaving it to the iſſue of their threatened proſecutions to prove the malevolence of their charges.

Others too contemptible to be anſwered.

Other charges there are: not ſpecific charges indeed; for, ſpecific charges They allow They have none: but They talk of enmity to the Nabob—of eraſures of records done without the knowlege of any one, by his Lordſhip's own hand (*a*)—of declarations that He would ſuppreſs or deſtroy any papers addreſſed to the Board—of his vilifying the inſtructions of the Company (*b*), and the acts of the legiſlature—of intereſted views—of private motives—of diſreſpect to the Council—of improper attempts to obtain letters from the Nabob—of improbable converſations—and even of miſconduct during his former adminiſtration. To theſe, what anſwer could We give? Who can gainſay the evidence of ſecret conferences and manuſcript records! Who can ſet bounds to the creative fancy of a Macleane, or a Stratton!

Lord Pigot's public conduct fully defended.

To anſwer charges like theſe was no part of our taſk. It is enough that We have juſtified the *public* conduct of Lord Pigot as it affected the Rajah—the Nabob—the Council. To render that

(*a*) It is, I believe, the firſt time that any man's hand has been diſcovered by his eraſure.

(*b*) Suppoſe the fact to be true, which would be more culpable, Lord Pigot, who, in a converſation, ventured to diſapprove, or Mr. Haſtings, who, in a letter, deliberately written to the Commanders of his Majeſty's ſhips, condemns the inſtructions of the Company? The fact is no more than this: Lord Pigot ſaid He *had* oppoſed the act in the houſe; and that He would endeavour to get the military regulations repealed; though, ſo long as they were in force, He thought his Self bound to obey them.

juſtification

juſtification complete, We were compelled to take a larger field than at firſt We intended. It was neceſſary to vindicate the policy of the Reſtoration; and to recapitulate the hiſtory of the Carnatic from the acceſſion of the families of the preſent Rajah, and the preſent Nabob, to the concluſion of the treaty in 1762 (*c*). It was neceſſary to mark the changes in our Councils and our ſyſtems from that period to the time of Lord Pigot's arrival at Madraſs (*d*). It was neceſſary to ſtate with preciſion the orders of the Company (*e*). It was neceſſary to take a view of the then ſtate of the ſettlement of Madraſs: and this view afforded but a ſlender hope of a hearty co-operation in the deſigns of the Company (*f*). Nor was that hope augmented by the fruitleſs negociations to engage the concurrence of the Nabob in the reſtoration of the Rajah (*g*). His Lordſhip's miſſion to Tanjore was the conſequence of the failure of theſe negotiations. His conduct there is more than juſtified by the approbation of the Board, confirmed by the approbation of the Company (*h*). The harmony of the Board was ſoon interrupted. The oſtenſible cauſe was the claims of Benfield. Thoſe claims we have examined; and ſhewn that his Lordſhip's oppoſition to them was grounded on the orders of the Company; on the reſolutions of the Board: on principles of juſtice: on principles of policy (*i*). The intrigues of the Nabob increaſed the animoſity at the Board, and threatened new troubles to Tanjore: His Lordſhip's duty called on him to put a ſtop to thoſe intrigues. What he did, what he attempted, in the diſcharge of this neceſſary duty, ſo far as the Nabob was concerned, has been related and juſtified (*k*). In endeavouring to ſtifle the intrigues at the Durbar, he gave riſe to farther diſputes at the Board: His Lordſhip was accuſed of ſetting up claims incomptatible with the rights of the Council: Theſe claims have been diſcuſſed and vindicated (*l*): So far his conduct with reſpect to the Council has been legal. That it

(*c*) Introduction, fol. 1—46. (*d*) Ib. fol. 46—68.
(*e*) Defence, fol. 69—82. (*f*) Ib. fol. 83—86.
(*g*) Ib. fol. 86—91. (*h*) Ib. fol. 91—110. (*i*) Ib. fol. 110—140.
(*k*) Ib. fol. 140—223. (*l*) Ib. fol. 228—269.

was

was not imprudent: that the exercise of his legal negative power could never have brought on the convulsion which followed: that it was the exercise of an illegal positive power, on the part of the Faction, which *compelled* the President reluctantly, in a legal, regular way, to suspend two members of the Board, has been clearly proved (*m*). That what followed was the unavoidable consequence of the sedition and mutiny of the faction; was legal, was necessary; required but little proof (*n*). The conduct of the faction; the motives; the manner; the instrument of effecting what, as Mr. Stratton has well said, ought not to be called a *Revolution*, has been the subject of the present section.

Here perhaps the reader may recollect the fate of Lally. He may remember, that with all his faults, Lally was a gallant officer; that he owed his ruin less to his own imprudence than to a spirit of party, than to the infamous peculations of a set of usurers. He may remember that the intrigues of these usurers, the impediments they threw in the way of the public service, were scarce less fatal to the French than the bravery of the British troops, and the conduct of the British governor. He may rejoice that Lord Pigot, oppress by men of the same cast, is the subject of a country, where the ear of the public is open to information; where the course of justice can neither be polluted nor stopt—Here are no midnight executions; here no culprit is gagged. To that public, forced by his antagonists, Lord Pigot has now appealed. Ere long He will compel those antagonists to appear before another tribunal. The verdict of both he expects with a modest, but a manly, firmness; with that confidence which conscious innocence alone can give.

(*m*) Ib. fol. 269—290. (*n*) Ib. fol. 290—295.

END OF THE DEFENCE.

APPENDIX.

Facts advanced in the Introduction, different from those advanced by the opponents of Lord Pigot.

THE reader will have obſerved, that there are ſeveral important facts advanced in the Introduction to this Defence, in which the writer materially differs from the opponents of Lord Pigot.

On the policy of keeping Arcot and Tanjore in the hands of ſeparate Princes.

They have aſſerted, that the ſcheme of keeping Arcot and Tanjore in the hands of ſeparate Princes, is now firſt ſet on foot by Lord Pigot to ſerve his own private views: he on the contrary aſſerts, that it was long ſince adopted and has always been purſued by the wiſeſt and the beſt of the ſervants of the Company.

On the attachment ſhewn by the Nabob and his father, and by the Rajah, to the Engliſh: and the conduct of the Nabob to the Rajah.

They have aſſerted, that the Rajah and his father have been wavering, that the preſent Nabob and his father have been ſteady, allies to the Engliſh: that the Nabob was diſpoſed to protect the Rajah, whom they repreſent as his vaſſal:—He on the contrary aſſerts, that the Rajah and his father have ſteadily adhered to the intereſts of the Engliſh and to thoſe of the Nabob, ſo far as the Nabob's intereſts were conſiſtent with thoſe of the Engliſh; that neither the Nabob, nor his father, have ever been firmly attached to the Engliſh: that the Nabob's father was ſecretly attached to the French: that the attachment of the preſent Nabob proceeded only from neceſſity; from a conviction, that the Engliſh alone could reſtore him to his poſſeſſions: that as ſoon as he was reſtored, he immediately formed, and has ſince ſteadily purſued the ſcheme of rendering his Self independent of the control of the Engliſh; of putting his Self in ſuch a ſituation as would enable him to control the Company: that as a previous ſtep to his deſign, he has been conſtantly endeavouring to debaſe the dignity, and annihilate the power of his *equal*, the Rajah of Tanjore.

On the extent, &c. of the treaty of 1762.

They have aſſerted, that the treaty of 1762 did injuſtice to the Nabob, by leſſening as well the arrears due to him, as the annual payment which

the Rajah was accuſtomed to pay; that this treaty was never conſidered as extending beyond the life of Pertaub Sing, the father of the preſent Rajah. He, on the contrary, aſſerts, that the diminution both in the arrears, and in the current tribute was founded on equity; that the treaty was intended, and underſtood by the Rajah, by the Company, and by the Nabob, to extend to Pertaub Sing and to his deſcendents.

Difference in the proofs given in ſupport of the facts reſpectively alleged.

Not more material is the difference in the facts advanced by the writer of this Defence, and by the opponents of Lord Pigot, than in the nature of the proofs which they have given in ſupport of the facts they have reſpectively alleged. The Opponents of Lord Pigot are conſtantly referring to papers, fabricated for the preſent purpoſe; to ſecret conferences; to manuſcripts in poſſeſſion of the Nabob: He on the other hand refers to the Hiſtory of Mr. Orme; to the documents publiſhed by order of the Court of Directors.

Farther proofs in ſupport of the facts advanced in the Introduction.

To leave no doubt in the mind of the reader; to convince the public, that what is advanced on theſe important points is founded on the moſt incontrovertible authority: it was thought neceſſary to print, as an Appendix, the following Extracts from the Proceedings and Correſpondence of the Eaſt India Company, its ſervants, the Rajah, and the Nabob (*a*). Togegether they form ſuch a body of evidence as perhaps has never been laid before the public on any ſubject that has at any time been ſubmitted to its deciſion. The *original* Letters are all in the India Houſe. To them then, the recourſe is open and eaſy.

A.

Proofs that it has always been the policy of the Eaſt India Company to keep Arcot and Tanjore in the hands of ſeparate Princes.

A. That it has always been the policy of the Company to keep Arcot and Tanjore in ſeparate hands.

That ſuch was the policy of Governor Saunders, we have already proved in the Introduction. To Him Lord Pigot ſucceeded; and that but a few years after the firſt treaty made with any Rajah of Tanjore: that He adopted the ſame policy; that He endeavoured to eſtabliſh it by the treaty of 1762, will ſcarcely be denied: it remains only to prove then, that the Company has ſince adhered to the ſame policy.

(*a*) Theſe Extracts will reflect the higheſt honour on the candour and impartiality of Mr. Orme.

No.

No. I.

No. I.

Extract from a ſeparate General Letter, from the Court of Directors to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, dated the 26th April, 1765.

April 26, 1765. Separate General Letter.

" We are ſorry to find the Nabob ſo unreaſonably oppoſing the repairs, " which the King of Tanjore is deſirous of making to the banks of the Ca- " veri. If the Nabob ſaw his intereſt in the ſame light we do, He ſhould " be deſirous above all things of maintaining peace and friendſhip with the " King of Tanjore." ..... " It is neceſſary, that reſpectful decency ſhould " be obſerved in all your negociations with Him (the Nabob); but at the " ſame time it is juſt, and proper, that, in ſuch a caſe as this, You ſhould " ſhew a firmneſs becoming the power You repreſent. You have guaran- " tied the treaty You made in 1762 between Him and the King, and have " therefore a right to interfere in the ſubjects of contention that may ariſe " between them, though not immediately expreſt in the treaty. In the pre- " ſent diſpute it ſeems very reaſonable, that the King ſhould have the li- " berty of repairing the banks of the Caveri, ſo far as He has in former " times been allowed to do, and even more, if new encroachments of the " river ſhould require it; provided the Nabob ſuſtains no injury thereby; " and ſo far You will be right to inſiſt on. This juſtice requires; and " conſidering the two powers in a *political light*, *we think it for our intereſt*, " *that each ſhould be maintained in his proper rights.*"

No. II.

No. II.

Extract from a ſeparate General Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, dated the 24th December, 1765.

December 24, 1765. Separate General Letter.

" We are well pleaſed to learn, that You have at *laſt* made the Na- " bob ſenſible, how much it is *his intereſt to maintain a friendſhip and har-* " *mony with the King of Tanjore*: whether He is ſincere or not in theſe pro- " feſſions, it is well that He ſeems ſo; and it muſt be *your care to keep* " *Him in that temper, and prevent his attempting any thing unjuſt to the Ra-* " *jah's prejudice.* The great reluctance He has ſhewed to ſuffer the banks " of the Caveri, and Aunacut, to be repaired, is no favourable proof of " the diſpoſition He bears towards the Rajah's Government. The im- " provement and extenſion of our commerce on the coaſt (an object We " have greatly at heart) depends ſo much on the peace of the Carnatic, that " it is become a neceſſary part of our ſyſtem, to watch over and preſerve " its tranquility. This being eſtabliſhed as a fundamental principle, You " muſt endeavour to form Your conduct thereon, and prevent, as much " as You prudently can, *one power from encroaching on another.*"

No. III.

No. III.

March 4, 1767. Separate General Letter.

Extract from a ſeparate General Letter, from the Court of Directors to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, dated the 4th of March, 1767.

" We are well pleaſed, that the King of Tanjore has fulfilled his engagements, and that there ſubſiſts a friendly intercourſe and correſpondence between You and Him: *You muſt loſe no opportunity of raiſing in Him, the idea of a firm dependence on our friendſhip:* You will not want opportunities, we apprehend, of giving proofs of your impartiality; for we diſcover, in many inſtances, a want of cordiality between Him, and the Nabob..... *We fear the Nabob will be ever ſeeking pretences to provoke Him in order to draw You into the quarrel, in hope of annexing ſome part of the Tanjore country to his own*; and the river Caveri will afford numberleſs ſubjects. It would therefore be well worth your endeavours to obtain as preciſe an account as can be got, of the ancient uſages and rights which were acknowledged by the Kings of Tritchinopoly and Tanjore reſpectively, touching the waters iſſuing from that river, and thereby You may be enabled on good grounds to mediate in ſuch diſputes without injuring the Nabob, or without ſacrificing the rights of the King to gratify his paſſions."

No. IV.

No. IV.

1765. Articles between the Rajah and the French.

Articles propoſed by the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, to be ſettled between the Rajah of Tanjore and the Repreſentatives of the French nation, or ſuch as they thought the Rajah ought to inſiſt upon.

" The French ſhall acknowledge the King of Tanjore to be *the only true and rightful Prince* of that country *." ..... " But that he may be the better aſſured of their good faith and intentions, and the ſtrict obſervance of all their engagements, the King requires, *that his allies, the Engliſh*, may become guarantees to him for the true and juſt performance of all agreements which may be entered into."

No. V.

No. V.

Jan. 31, 1770. Select letter from Fort St. George.

Extract of a ſelect Letter from Fort St. George, dated the 31ſt of Jan. 1770.

" If the Nabob of the Carnatic poſſeſſed the *whole power* of the Carnatic, it would be good policy in Him, and conſiſtent with the principles of the Indoſtan government, to *reduce* Tanjore to the ſame forms of obedience and control, that other Rajahs are reduced to; and if the *Company poſ-*

* Yet the Agent of the Nabob can pretend, that the Treaty of Paris, made two years before, guarantied Tanjore to the Nabob.

" *ſeſſed*

A. No. V.

" *ſeſſed the whole* power of the Carnatic, it would be equally good policy in " the Company to do ſo; but it is a great queſtion, with us, *whether it* " *would be good policy in the Company to ſuffer the Nabob of the Carnatic to* " *reduce Tanjore, if he were powerful enough of Himſelf ſo to do:* and it is " another queſtion with us, upon the preſent divided ſyſtem of power in " the Carnatic, if it would be good policy in the Company, to reduce " Tanjore, and place it under the management and control of the Na- " bob. We incline to the opinion, *that it would not*; but that whilſt the " preſent ſyſtem, or want of ſyſtem remains between the Company and " the Carnatic; if the reduction of Tanjore ſhould be reſolved on, it " would be more adviſeable for the Company to retain it in their own poſ- " ſeſſion, or (reſerving the ſovereignty) place in the management of it, " *either the preſent Rajah* or any other of the family, ſubject to ſuch limi- " tations and conditions as might make Him uſeful, but put it out of his " power to be dangerous."

B.

B. Attachment of the Rajah and his father to the Engliſh and the Nabob.

Proofs of the Attachment of the preſent Rajah, and of his Father, to the Engliſh: and of their Friendſhip to the Nabob.

No. I.

No. I.

Extract of a Letter from Governor Floyer to the King of Tanjore, dated the 24th of January, 1750.

1750-1. January 24th. From Governor Floyer to the King of Tanjore, Pertaub Sing.

" 'Twas a great ſatisfaction to me to obſerve by the Phirmaund, You " ſent Me, for Devi Cotah, the opinion You have of our friendſhip. " I now ſend you our contract of alliance, by which You will be con- " vinced how ſincere our regard is for You."

No. II.

No. II.

Extract of a Letter from Governor Floyer to the King of Tanjore, dated the 17th of July, 1751.

1751. July 17th. From the ſame to the ſame.

" I have received your letter, and am obliged to You for your advice " of the French party marching through your country to Tritchinopoly. " I have wrote to my officers in camp of the friendſhip and alliance that " ſubſiſt between You, Mohammed Ally, and Myſelf; and ordered " Them, if your affairs ſhould require it, to give You aſſiſtance."

Extract.

B. No. III.

No. III.

1754. January 17th. From An'-war'o'dean, father of the preſent Nabob, to the Governor of Fort St. George.

Extract of a Letter from Nabob An'waro'dean Khan to the Governor of Fort St. George, dated the 17th and received the 29th of January, 1754.

" At the requeſt of the King of Tanjore, Sydoo Mahatoo Melly Khan " has acquainted me by a letter, that Moratoo applied to the ſaid King " by his Vakeel, demanding three lacks of Rupees, half of which was to " be paid him in ſix days, and the other half on his departure to Balagat, " in which caſe he promiſed to return to his country from the Myſo- " reans. But I returned an anſwer to the ſaid Sydoo Mahatoo Melly Khan, " and told Him, that the King was too ſenſible of my low circumſtances; " and that He, the ſaid King, *ſhould be favourable to Me in this affair,* " *and diſpatch it* (*b*)."

No. IV.

No. IV.

1754. Oct. 9. From the Governor of Fort St. George to Pertaub Sing, King of Tanjore.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor of Fort St. George to the King of Tanjore, dated the 9th of October, 1754.

" I was extremely glad to receive your letter, wherein You adviſe Me " what the French Governor wrote to You and your anſwer, *which was a* " *very proper one* (*c*)."

No. V.

No. V.

1754. Nov. 26. From the ſame to the ſame.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor of Fort St. George to the King of Tanjore, dated the 26th of November, 1754.

" As the time of hoſtilities now draws nigh, it is proper, that we ſhould " conſult together, in what manner to begin our operations, in order to " ſecure all the different countries belonging to You, and the Nabob." ..... " I have thought it neceſſary to ſend for a part of *our army* to " join with the King's troops, now at Fort St. David's." ..... " I hope " by your aſſiſtance the fort of Tritchinopoly will be plentifully ſtored " with proviſions before the ſuſpenſion expires, which will make the ene- " my deſpair of accompliſhing their deſigns." ..... " You may be aſ- " ſured that I will never forget your *firm friendſhip*; and that I will con- " ſtantly be mindful of your affairs."

(*b*) Which he accordingly did, by paying the money out of his own Treaſury.

(*c*) Pertaub Sing's correſpondence with the French is among the crimes alleged againſt him. The candid Agent forgot to tell us, that he *communicated* that correſpondence to the Engliſh.

Extract

No. VI.

B. No. 6. 1754-5. Jan. 16. From the same to the same.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor of Fort St. George to the King of Tanjore, dated the 16th of January, 175⅘.

" I have received your letters, and congratulate You on the success " *Gauderow and Monacjee have had over the enemy.* This was the last effort " the enemy had to make; and as it has been attended with shame, by the " blessing of God, You will be happy." . . . . . " The most material " thing to be done is putting a quantity of provisions into Tritchinopoly. " I know *you have fulfilled* your agreement for advancing some money."

No. VII.

No. VII. 1755. March 20. From An'waro'dean Khan to the Governor of Fort St. George.

Extract of a Letter from Nabob An'waro'dean Khan, to the Governor of Fort St. George, dated the 20th, and received the 26th March 1755.

" I must observe to you that the King of Tanjore, and Tondimon are " neighbours to the fort of Tritchinopoly; who *both assisted with provisions* " in the time of war and troubles, which *supported the people* in the Fort. " If we act the *part of an enemy against them*, it will be attended with a dif- " ficulty to defend the Fort, as we shall not be able then to get even a " grain of provision." . . . . . " If the Marrawar joins the French and " the Mysoreans 'tis no matter, for we can receive the Circar's money of " him at another time, *or the King of Tanjore will answer for it.*"

No. VIII.

No. VIII. 1755. Oct. 16. From the Governor of Fort St. George to Pertaub Sing King of Tanjore.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor of Fort St. George to the King of Tanjore, dated the 16th October 1755.

" I write this to acquaint You, that on the Nabob's coming to Madrass, " I had the pleasure of paying Him a visit, and *then He was pleased to give* " *me an account of your alliance and assistance to Him, which gave me great joy.* " *As You are a sincere friend to the Nabob*, in the same manner as I am to " Him, I am certain, that all affairs will meet with success, according " to our desire."

No. IX.

No. IX. 1756. Dec. 23. From the Governor of Fort St George, to Pertaub Sing King of Tanjore.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor of Fort St. George to the King of Tanjore, dated the 23d December 1756.

" I have received your friendly letter, mentioning, that *your troops are* " *now in readiness to act jointly with those of the Company, wherever occasion* " *may require.*" I am sensible of your firm alliance, which is of a long " standing, and well known to the world."

No. X.

B.
No. X.

No. X.

1759. Feb. 28. From the ſame to the ſame.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor of Fort St. George to the King of Tanjore, dated the 28th February 1759.

" The *horſe*, which You ſent, with the Commandant and Major Caillaud, have joined our army."

No. XI.

No. XI.

1759. May 4. From Pertaub Sing King of Tanjore, to the Governor of Fort St. George.

Extract of a Letter from the King of Tanjore to the Governor of Fort St. George, received the 4th May 1759.

" You are a gentleman of good reputation, valiant, and endowed " with future conſideration and courage. The enemy were very ſtrong at " that juncture, and *You was the only* perſon, that could overcome and " drive Them away." . . . . . " You was pleaſed to ſay alſo, that the " 600 horſe, which I ſent along with the Commandant and Major Caillaud, are ſtill with them." . . . . . " *I muſt deſire You will regard all " my troops as your own* (*d*); and in proportion as You uſe Them well, You " may expect good ſervices from Them. Let my troops remain here or in " your parts, *They are your own, and this country is likewiſe yours*, and I " hope You have conſulted its welfare, as there is no manner of diſtinction " between Us *.

No. XII.

No. XII.

Extract of a Letter from the King of Tanjore to the Governor of Fort St. George, received the 3d December 1759.

" The enemy have now ſent a large force on this ſide, in order to take " Ranjan Gady, (alias Walconda.) Monſ. Lally is alſo coming: their " intention is to exact money from Wariore, &c. and the Polygars, and " then to take poſſeſſion of Seringham; and to that end they arrived on the " banks of Coleroon and began hoſtilities. You'll therefore detach the " whole of your army from Conjeveram, conſiſting of Europeans, Seapoys, " and Horſe, with artillery and ſtores, with all poſſible ſpeed. You'll " alſo write to Ujoff Khan, that he may come. Likewiſe the Nabob's " troops along with mine. Marrawar, Tondiman, Nalcootey, Arryalore, " and Wariore, will be gathered together in one place; and then We can, " *by our united endeavours, give a fatal blow to the enemy*, as They will not " be able to find means to eſcape; and we ſhall ſurround Them on all " ſides. I deſire You will not heſitate in this affair, but detach a large

(*d*) Lord Pigot was now Governor of Fort St. George.

* This was the language uſed by the preſent Rajah ſince his reſtoration, and which, becauſe (I ſuppoſe) it was uſed by his father, under different circumſtances, the diſcernment of Mr. Haſtings has diſcovered, could not be voluntary; muſt be dictated.

" army

" army with all poſſible ſpeed. *If we deſtroy the enemy here, it will not be* B.
" *in their power to act againſt Madraſs.*" . . . . . " As the enemy invaded
" my country the laſt year, juſt in the time of the crop, the country was
" deprived of the cultivation: but this year having borrowed ſums of
" money, and advanced to the inhabitants, they have got the cultivation
" carried on."

No. XIII.

No. XIII.

1760. Auguſt 3. From the Governor of Fort St. George to Pertaub Sing King of Tanjore.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor of Fort St. George to the King of Tanjore, dated the 3d Auguſt, 1760.

" I had the pleaſure to be informed by Mr. Bourchier of the favourable
" reception He met with at your court, and the agreement concluded with
" your Majeſty, regarding the diſtricts of Karical. I am willing to eſteem
" the ſame as an inſtance of your friendſhip with *Nabob Mohammed*. This
" is a proper time for Us to manifeſt our friendſhip to each other: on our
" part, We will protect your dominions to the utmoſt againſt the French."

No. XIV.

XIV.

1760. Sept. 26. From Pertaub Sing King of Tanjore, to the Governor of Fort St. George.

Extract of a Letter from the King of Tanjore to the Governor of Fort St. George, received the 26th Sept. 1760.

" You mentioned concerning my ſending troops. I ſent before a body
" of 300 horſe from hence, to whom I continually *ſend pay*; and another
" body of 200 horſe I ſent to Mr. Richard Smith, *of whom I have alſo*
" *ſupplied the expence (e)*. This Gentleman went with an army into the
" Myſore country and wrote for 200 more of my horſe, and I am provid-
" ing at preſent for the expence of ſending them: it is my deſire, that the
" enemy and all their helpers may meet with ruin. And I am upon the
" ſame endeavours, the particulars of which I wrote to Mr. Bourchier and
" Sambozey Punt, my Vakeel, to whom I refer you."

No. XV.

XV.

1762. March 9. From the ſame to the ſame.

Extract of a Letter from the King of Tanjore to the Governor of Fort St. George, received the 9th March, 1762.

" At the death of Nazir Jing, the Nabob returned to Tritchinopoly:
" on this, Chunda Saheb marched from Pondicherry with the French ar-
" my againſt Tritchinopoly, with a deſign to take it; but the Nabob ſent
" for Nanzeraz and Morarirow to his aſſiſtance; which was to no purpoſe.

(e) When the Nabob ſent *troops*, he was careful that the Engliſh ſhould ſend *pay*.

B. No. XV.

" *I ſent my aſſiſtance ſeveral times*, with proper Sardars, cut off Allum " Khan and Chundaſaheb, and ſaved the fort of Tritchinopoly. After- " wards Nanzeraz demanded Tritchinopoly of the Nabob; beſieged the " ſaid place, and put a ſtop to the proviſions. Then finding no ſupport " in any reſpect, the Nabob, and General Lawrence, came to my fort. " The ſituation of my fort at that time, is well known to the whole world; " if You will be ſo good as to aſk the General, He will inform You. The " Nabob gave Me a Saned for the Timaevelly and Madura countries, but " I returned it again to Him, *thinking it improper to receive any thing from* " *him at that juncture* (*f*); and hoping that when he ſhould be firmly ſet- " tled, he would promote the welfare of my country. And accordingly, " having borrowed ſums of money, I detached an army to his aſſiſtance, " under the command of a Sardar, ſupplied the fort with proviſions, and " cauſed the French and Nanzeraz's camp to be plundered, which diſtreſſed " them ſo as to oblige them to raiſe the ſiege and to retire to Seringham. " The enemy thought, that the reaſon of their bad ſucceſs and diſappoint- " ment, in taking the fort (which was at that time greatly diſtreſſed) was " owing to my aſſiſtance; wherefore they reſolved to plunder the Tanjore " country, and accordingly Morarirow came and plundered the ſame. It " was then thought, that if Nanzeraz and Morarirow remained in union, " the troubles againſt Tritchinopoly could not be at an end; for which " reaſons, by the conſent of the Nabob and the General, I borrowed four " lacks of rupees of Bukenzy Soucar; paid the ſame to Morarirow, and " ſent him away to his country, which weakened Nanzeraz." . . . . . " Jaun Bayun (meaning Mr. Dupleix) and Nanzeraz made me large " offers, and promiſed to give certain countries. Chundaſaheb, on his " part, ſent alſo, and made me offers through the means of Sulam " Cawn; but as I had contracted a friendſhip for the Engliſh, and " paſſed my word to them, I did not think fit to fail; wherefore I rejected " all the above offers, and always acted the enemy's part againſt the French, " which enraged Monſ. Lally ſo as to make him plunder and ruin my " country, and come and beſiege my fort: but I held it out bravely, and " beat him off in a proper manner; ſo he was unable to do any thing here, " but fled with confuſion, leaving his guns behind him. Afterwards he " marched againſt Madraſs with a deſign to take it: at that time I ſent my " troops along with Mohammed Uſoff Khan. *You are a Gentleman endow-* " *ed with goodneſs, honeſt intentions, and truth, and You never change your* " *words, though opportunity ſhould offer*, which is the reaſon, that dur- " ing the ſiege, the ſalt water in the fort turned freſh and the enemy were " routed and fled, upon which you intended to take Pondicherry; and I

(*f*) The good King did not know his man, if he ſuppoſed that his delicacy was the way to make the other generous. Que ne lui ai je demandé plus! ſaid the old cloaths-man in Gil Blas.

" then

B.

" then ſent my troops to join you." ..... " During the ſiege of Pondi-
" cherry I ſent continual ſupplies of proviſions from my country." .....
" The French, Chundaſaheb, and Morarirow, plundered and ruined my
" country for the ſpace of four years, whereby I was deprived of my re-
" venues." ..... " I have only acquired the treaſure of the friendſhip of
" the Nabob and the Engliſh, but no treaſure in money. During the war,
" about 2000 horſe were killed, and I have as yet paid only part of their
" coſt; the other part ſtill remains due to the horſemen; beſides, I am ob-
" liged to allow penſions to the families of thoſe who were killed in battle."

No. XVI.

No. XVI.

Extract of a Letter from the King of Tanjore to the Governor of Fort St. George, received 16th Nov. 1764.

1764. Nov. 16. From Tuljanjee King of Tanjore to the Governor of Fort St. George.

" As you ſollicited very much to be excuſed paying the Peiſcaſh for Devi
" Cotah, I eſteem the Company's friendſhip to be beſt: and in order that
" the amity and union between Them, and my Government may, in a per-
" fect manner, be eſtabliſhed on a firm and laſting footing, I have, agree-
" able to your deſire, conſented that the ſaid Peiſcaſh be remitted (*g*)."

No. XVII.

No. XVII.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor of Fort St. George to the King of Tanjore, dated 4th Feb. 1765.

1765. Feb. 4. From the Governor of Fort St. George to Tuljanjee King of Tanjore.

" I have only to add, that you may make yourſelf eaſy and free from
" all manner of apprehenſions. The *Engliſh forces* ſhall always be ready *to*
" *ſupport You*, and your juſt *rights* and pretenſions, againſt *any power*, who
" ſhall have the preſumption to invade them. *On this you may rely* (*b*)."

(*g*) The Peiſcaſh was a *redevance annuelle*, which the Engliſh were engaged to pay to the King for Devi Cotah. The remiſſion of this payment was one of the firſt acts of the reign of the preſent King. How well we have rewarded him let his paſt troubles, and ſtate of preſent vacillation, teſtify for us!

(*b*) Well have the Company fulfilled this engagement of their Governor! The unfortunate King *did rely* on them: *did lean* on them; *he leaned on a broken reed.* And let not the reader forget, what we proved from the printed letters of the Company, that *at the time* the ſervants of the Company were oppreſſing the Rajah, they confeſſed, that he would be *firmly attached to them, if they would give him proofs of impartial juſtice.*

C.

C.

Diſaffection of the Nabob's father to the Engliſh.

Proofs of the Diſaffection of An'waro'dean Khan, father of the preſent Nabob, to the Engliſh.

No. I.

No I.

1746-7. Feb. 3. From the Governor of Fort St. David's to Mohammed Ally Khan.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor of Fort St. David to Mohammed Ally Khan, dated Feb. 3d 174$\frac{6}{7}$.

" My people intercepted a letter directed to Rangapilla, Mr. Duplerx's " Decan, ſpeaking in very diſreſpectful terms, both of his Excellency the " Nabob, and myſelf, and all our proceedings; and *giving an account of* " *all that paſſed in this place, and at the camp*; with many falſities that never " did happen. The author of this I apprehended, who *confeſſed* the fact; " on which I ſent him to the Nabob, to the camp, expecting he would " hang him, according to the law of all nations; but next day my people " met with him again—the conſequence of which will be, that all the world " will think the Nabob is more in the French intereſt than the Engliſh. " What will the Commodore think when he hears, and ſees, a ſpy, detect- " ed of treaſon againſt his Prince, and *his* maſter, ſupported in favour of " the enemy?"

No. II.

No. II.

1746-7. Feb. 26. From the ſame to the ſame.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor of Fort St. David to Mahommed Ally Khan, dated the 26th Feb. 174$\frac{6}{7}$.

" We have obeyed your orders in every thing that lay in our power; re- " queſting your father, yourſelf, and brother, to defend our lawful rights, " and recover Madraſs for Us; which place has been entirely plundered and " deſtroyed by the French, who, you know very well, have rebelled and deſ- " troyed ſeveral fine towns and villages belonging to the Circar, and have " committed the greateſt inſult againſt the perſon of your brother: and you " your ſelf muſt be ſenſible, they deſerve the ſevereſt treatment, and to be " made an example of for the future. But inſtead of that, *you have con-* " *ſented to a peace with them*, to the admiration of the whole world; and " *decamped*, and *left us to defend ourſelves*."

No. III.

No. III.

C. No. III. 1746-7. March 6. From the Governor of Fort St. David's to Nizam-ul-Muluck.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor of Fort St. David's to Nizam-ul-Muluck, Soubah of the Decan, dated the 6th March $174\frac{6}{7}$.

"Some time since I wrote your Excellency a letter, complaining of "the treacherous treatment the English had met with from the French; "which letters, together with the repeated complaints of the inhabitants "of this province, of all nations and professions, induced your Excellency, "out of your great wisdom, and justice, to *send orders to An'waro'dean "Khan* to *restore* Madrass to us, and to settle the province in peace; instead "of which, He, *for the sake of a little money, has joined with the French "against us*; and by that means has encouraged Them to use the Eng- "lish, and all other merchants, in the vilest manner, and *without the "least justice from him*, who by the law of nations, as well as *your orders*, "ought to have protected Us. Instead of returning Madrass, they "have tore it all to pieces; plundered all the inhabitants, as well "the Mogul's subjects as the English." . . . . . "But these facts, and "many other villainous proceedings of the French, *by the connivance of "An'waro'dean Khan* and his two Ministers, are so well known and felt by "so many *thousands of sufferers*, that it would be taking up your Excel- "lency's time to no purpose to enlarge upon them."

No. IV.

No. IV. 1746-7. March 6. From Commodore Griffin to Nizam-ul-Muluck.

Extract of a Letter from Commodore Griffin to Nizam-ul-Muluck, dated the 6th March $174\frac{6}{7}$.

"I shall not enter into a particular detail of the robberies, cruelties, "and depredations, committed, *on shore*, upon the King my master's sub- "jects, by that insolent and perfidious nation the French; *connived at and "abetted* by those under your Excellency *(the Nabob of Arcot)* whose duty "it was to have preserved the peace of your country, instead of *selling* the "interest of a nation, with whom you have had the strictest friendship time "out of mind." . . . . . "And now, excellent Sir, We have laid this before "You for your information and consideration, and must entreat You in the "name of the King of Great Britain, my royal master, to *call the Nabob* "to an account for his past transactions, and interpose your power to re- "store as near as possible in its original state, what has been so unjustly "taken from us."

No. V.

No. V.

1746-7. March 7. From the Governor of Fort St. David's to Cojah Nizamtola-Khan.

Extract of a Letter to Cojah Nizamtola Khan, dated the 7th March $174\frac{6}{7}$.

"Madraſs has been betrayed and taken by the French, who have been "*protected, and connived at, by An'waro'dean Khan*, Nabob of Arcot, in "*prejudice to the Engliſh.*"

No. VI.

No. VI.

1746-7. March 10. From Mohammed Ally to Rangapa.

Extract of a Letter from Mohammed Ally Khan to Rangapa, dated the 10th March, $174\frac{6}{7}$.

"I have received your letter, and am acquainted with the contents. "You have deſired me to ſend You 500 horſemen to ſerve the Company at "Rupees 25 each. This cannot be obtained by *writing*, but you muſt ſend "*a proper Vakeel* to diſcourſe about it."

No. VII.

No. VII.

1746-7. March 10. From Hodgee Hodee to the Governor of Fort St. David's.

Extract of a Letter from Hodgee Hodee at Arcot, received the 10th March $174\frac{6}{7}$.

"I take the liberty to acquaint your Worſhip, that as the Nabob is but "a *renter*, He does *not much regard* the *diſtreſs* of the *people* of this *pro-* "*vince*; but in *all ſhapes* has reſpect to his *own intereſt* and benefit; there- "fore there is *no truſting* to his promiſes."

No. VIII.

1746-7. March 12. From Mohammed Ally Khan to the Governor of Fort St. David's.

Extract of a Letter from Mahommed Ally Khan, received the 12th March $174\frac{6}{7}$.

"You well know I waited a long time for the coming of your ſhips, "their not arriving in time obliged me to make up matters with the French." ..... "After that I decamped to Arcot; but the French *have not ſtood* "*to their agreement* (*i*); have tranſgreſſed my orders; and have proceeded "againſt Fort St. David, where They have been defeated by their own "perfidy, for which I will ſeverely chaſtiſe them, and will ſend a force to "aſſiſt You."

(*i*) That is, did not give up Madraſs to the Nabob, that he might ſell it to the Engliſh.

No. IX.

C.

No. IX.

No. IX.

Extract of a Letter from An'waro'dean Khan to Charles Floyer, Esq. Governor of Fort St. David, received the 24th June 1747.

1747. June 24. From An'waro'dean Khan, to the Governor of Fort St. David's.

" About ten days ago I sent up a Perwannah, by the Camel Hircara, " desiring You to *release the two French* gentlemen, who have been at Chil- " lumbrum from Carrical, and were seized by some of your people, in the " Great Mogul's country, near Truvidy, when they were going over land " from Chillumbrum to Pondicherry, and carried to Tevenepatam; but I " find that You have not as yet released the said Frenchmen, nor dispatched " the Camel-man with your answer to me. *It is not proper for You* to de- " lay this business; and You *must* therefore, as soon as the receipt of this " letter, *release* the said people, and let me know your *reasons for seizing* " *them.*"

No. X.

No. X.

Extract of a Letter from Charles Floyer, Esq. Governor of Fort St. David to An'waro'dean Khan, dated the 27th June 1747.

1747. June 27. Governor Floyer's answer.

" As soon as the French would deliver Me the *eighty Englishmen*, whom " They had seized in the Great Mogul's dominions, and still got them " prisoners in Pondicherry, and Mr. Hopkins, whom they seized at St. " Thomas's Mount, and confined in Madrass, I shall be ready to deliver " the *Two* French gentlemen unto Them (*k*)."

No. XI.

No. XI.

Translation of Contracts made with Nabob Nazir Jing, Son to Nizam-ul-Mu- luck, Soubadah of the Decan.

Contract with Nasir Jing.

" You must send your Perwans, or *Orders*, to the *Nabob*, An'waro'dean " Khan, Kellidars, Pollygars, &c. to prevent, and stop, all manner of " provisions going to Pondicherry, from the Circar's country, and deliver " all the goods, money, and effects, people, and every thing the French " concealed with them, or kept in their custody, up to the English."

(*k*) Let the impartial reader mark this. On the 12th of March the present Nabob, son and General to the then Nabob, promises to assist the English, and to act against the French, because they had tricked the Nabob. On the 24th of June the Nabob peremptorily demands the release of *two Frenchmen* taken in his *master's* territory, but takes no step to release *eighty-one English* taken likewise in his *master's* dominions.

No. XII.

C.
No. XII.

No. XII.

Form of a Letter from Nazir Jing to the Nabob.

Tranſlation of the Form of a Letter delivered to Nazir Jing to be written to Nabob An'waro'dean Khan, Soubah of Arcot.

" The violence, and hoſtilities, committed againſt the Engliſh nation " by the French, in taking Madraſs, and all the goods and money belong- " ing to Them, and likewiſe the merchants, were repreſented to Nizam- " ul-Muluck, and likewiſe to Me, in a particular manner, concerning " which Nizam-ul-Muluck had ſent you a *Perwan*. Now I do ſend a " party of my troops, along with Mootal, to puniſh the French, recover " Madraſs, and alſo take Pondicherry for the Engliſh; and have alſo " ſent my poſitive orders to all the Kellidars and Pollygars, of that part " of the country: *I order you to ſend up your force to join them* (*l*)."

No. XIII.

No. XIII.

1747-8. Jan. 9. From Governor Floyer to An'waro'dean Khan.

Extract of a Letter from An'waro'dean Khan, dated the 9th January 174$\frac{7}{8}$.

" As we live here under the Great Mogul's protection, and the country " belonging to the Circar has ſuffered ſo much already, by the loſs of " Madraſs, I had reaſon to ſuppoſe your Excellency had put a ſtop to their " further deſigns, and not to let the French rob us farther in your territories. " We have hitherto obſerved your *commands* laid upon Us, not to *moleſt* " *the enemy by land*, but your Excellency will now permit Us to take ſatis- " faction, and to do ourſelves juſtice, as We find *the enemy do not regard* " *your word and orders*." ..... " Fifteen days after your troops left Us, the " enemy attacked Us with all their force, but were ſoon obliged to retire " home."

No. XIV.

No. XIV.

1747-8. Jan. 18. From Bundal Mootal (Agent from Governor Floyer) to him, Governor Floyer.

Extract of a Letter from Bundal Mootal to Charles Floyer, Eſq. Governor of Fort St. David, dated the 18th January 174$\frac{7}{8}$.

" As to what I wrote You in my laſt, to ſend ſome *money* to Arcot, if " you would have Me bring ſome troops from Nabob An'waro'dean Khan " for our aſſiſtance, I hope You will not defer ſending Me an anſwer."..... " True it is, that Nizam and Nazir Jing have ſent a *Firmaund* to An'- " waro'dean Khan to aſſiſt Us, but He will *ſtand our friend and be on our*

(*l*) This is the language of a *ſervant* of the Emperor of Delhi to the Nabob of Arcot; to the independent Prince; *the ally of the King of Great Britain.*

" *ſide*

" *ſide* if We would agree *with* and *pay* Him for it. Your Worſhip may be " aſſured, that I will provide a ſubſtantial merchant to *bargain* with An'- " waro'dean Khan to pay Him."

D.
No. II.

And ſo much for that *affectionate* ally An'waro'dean Khan, who *died in fighting our battles*: let us now turn to his ſon, the preſent Nabob, who ſucceeded his father in his *affection* to the Engliſh, as well as in his government.

D.

Proofs of the diſaffection of Mohammed Ally Khan, the preſent Nabob, to the Engliſh, and of his hatred to the Rajah of Tanjore.

No. I.

No. I.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob, to the Honourable Robert Palk, Eſq. Preſident and Governor of Fort St. George, &c. dated the 17th, and received the 26th Dec. 1763.

1763. Dec. 17. From the Nabob to the Governor of Fort St. George.

" Yeſterday morning Pertaub Sing, Rajah of Tanjore died ſuddenly, " not without ſuſpicion that his ſon and Monacjee were the perpetrators of " his death; as they have been for ſome time paſt at variance: the parti- " culars, as they *come to my knowledge*, ſhall be tranſmitted to you. In the " mean time I thought it requiſite to adviſe you immediately of this " *ſtrange and cruel murder* (*m*), which is properly *incumbent* on me to en- " quire into. I requeſt you to favour me with your advice and opinion " on this occaſion as ſoon as you can; for from the *incapacity* of the young " Rajah, and the *ambition* and impetuoſity of *Monacjee*, who will be ab- " ſolute in the name of the young Rajah." ..... " Be aſſured and that " from Monacjee's frequent and public diſcourſe, he would fight againſt " the Engliſh, as ſoon as for them: prudence dictates that we be *before* " *hand* with him if poſſible (*n*)."

(*m*) Mark the candor of the man. At firſt it was *ſuſpicion*, particulars *were to come* to knowledge. In a line or two it is no longer *ſuſpicion*: no particulars *were come* to knowledge: and yet it is clearly murther.—He longed no doubt to *enquire into it*.

(*n*) The reader will remember, that to this Monacjee it was, that the Nabob was indebted for the defeat and death of Chundaſaheb. He ſhould know likewiſe that among the charges brought againſt Pertaub Sing one was, that he had ſuſpended this Monacjee from his ſervice.

D. No. II.

No. II.

1763. Dec. 22d. From the Governor of Fort St. George to the Nabob.

Extract of a Letter from Governor Palk to his Excellency the Nabob, dated the 22d Dec. 1763.

"I would therefore recommend the moſt cautious methods to be obſerved with regard to Tanjore: and if ſuch unfair means ſhall hereafter appear to have been uſed to procure the late King's death, as *you ſuſpect*; it is not to be doubted, ſome ſecret practices will be formed againſt the uſurpers, and a flame will probably break out, when we ſhall have a more favourable opportunity to bring the offenders to juſtice, and then the *matter of fact* will be more certainly diſcovered. For my part I ſhall obſerve the moſt wary conduct on this occaſion; and ſuppoſing the King's death natural, I have wrote a letter of condolance to his ſon, and expreſt my hopes, that by purſuing the ſame meaſures and *fulfilling the engagements* of his deceaſed father, he will preſerve the friendſhip, which has long ſubſiſted between the Government of Tanjore, the Engliſh, and your excellency."

No. III.

No. III.

1765. Feb. 13. From Mr. Ruſſell to the Governor of Fort St. George.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Ruſſel to the Honourable Robert Palk, Eſq. Preſident and Governor of Fort St. George, received 13th Feb. 1765.

"I am credibly informed, that the Nabob has a party now *burning* and deſtroying all the huts in the bounds of *Pondicherry*, which will undoubtedly be a ſubject of new complaint, and I fear I ſhall find it a hard matter to perſuade Mr. Laws, that it is *not by orders from Madraſs*."

No. IV.

No. IV.

1770. Sept. 29. From the Governor and Council of Fort St. George to the Court of Directors.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor and Council of Fort St. George in their Military Department, dated the 29th September 1770.

"Whilſt we have garriſons in the Nabob's countries, there muſt be conſtant occaſion for officers, ſoldiers, and others, to paſs and repaſs; and even if theſe garriſons were withdrawn, ſuch occaſions would frequently occur in the intercourſe between the Preſidency and the Circars in the North, and Cuddalore in the South. It has therefore been *uſual* to give a paſs agreeable to the printed form in the packet to perſons going with leave, or on duty from one place to another; meerly as a mark, or token, that they belong to the Company. The Nabob has thought pro-

"per

" per to *object* to such passes, as *derogatory to his authority*; and to insist, D.
" that all persons passing through his country, shall be furnished with *his*
" pass, or dustuck." . . . . . " We endeavoured to obviate this unreason-
" able objection by assuring the Nabob, that it was not intended as an or-
" der for *his* officers, and as a proof of it, that We would willingly alter
" the pass to this form—" These are to require all persons under the Com-
" pany's jurisdiction, and *to request* all other friends of the British nation,
" to permit, &c." or any other form He should like better. We put Him
" in mind *that the Governor of Pondicherry gave passes* in a similar form,
" (a copy of one comes in the packet) and that *no objection* was made to
" them. 'Twas in vain: He persisted in his claim, and informed the
" President, that unless it were complied with, He could not be answer-
" able for the apprehending of our deserters. We know not, whether We
" ought to impute to this declaration the loss of four men: very lately they
" deserted from Ponamalee, and taking the road to Pondicherry, were dis-
" covered in the night, overcome with fatigue in a village near Alumpawa
" by the Tapal Peons, or Post Peons, who alarmed the village. The
" men were seized and delivered over to the charge of the *Nabob's Amul-*
" *dar*, who *suffered* them to *escape* in the night; and though they were then
" *forty miles distant* from Pondicherry, *they reached it in safety*. Several
" other deserters also from this garrison have got safe to Pondicherry,
" which We think could not possibly happen if proper orders were given
" in the several villages. As it has never been usual, during all our in-
" tercourse with the Nabob to use his passes for passengers; as the Com-
" pany's Representatives at Bengal, while They were even under control of
" the Mogul Government, were allowed the privilege of giving passes, or
" dustucks for goods, which, however, We do not claim here, We think
" We ought not to give up this point, which is *allowed to the French*,
" without your permission."

No. V.

No. V.

Extract from Fort St. George Select Consultations, 10th January 1771.

1771. Jan. 10. Consultation at Fort St. George.

" We have not, 'till lately had any suspicions, that the Nabob ever pro-
" posed to *raise himself to a state of independence*, through the means of the
" *French*. If such ideas exist in Him, We believe They are yet but in their
" infancy, and we cannot trace them further back, than a few months."
. . . . . " *We believe it may be boldly affirmed, that at, and from the conclu-*
" *sion of the treaty of Paris, 'till lately, the 11th article of it was not meant or*
" *understood, either in England, France, or India, to mean more than an ac-*
" *knowledgment of the Nabob's title, in order to prevent the rise of fresh troubles*
" *between the English and French*; by setting up some, and supporting other

D. "claimants, under real, or pretended ſunuds from *ſuperior* Princes. But "now We underſtand, that *the acknowlegement by the ſaid* 11*th article*, is "conſtrued to be a *guarantee*; whereby the Nabob *becomes an Ally of the* "*Crown of Great Britain*. The article is in every reſpect as ſtrong and con- "veys the ſame preciſe ſpirit, with reſpect to the *Crown of France* as the "Crown of England. If therefore the Nabob, by virtue of that article, "is become an Ally of the Crown of England, He is thereby, to all in- "tents and purpoſes, as much an Ally of the Crown of France. And is it "probable, that the Court of France will decline, or omit, to avail itſelf "of the ſame arguments, which, but for another purpoſe, are uſed by "the Court of England, to eſtabliſh an intereſt and connexion, that may "reſtore Them to a ſtate of equal importance in the Carnatic, with the "Engliſh. And is it probable, that the *Nabob, ambitious, and deſiring in-* "*dependence*, ſhould neglect ſo fair an occaſion of *counterbalancing a power*, "*ſuch as the Engliſh*, of which He has pretended to *be ſo jealous*, and of "which (whether from jealouſy or ambition) it is moſt certain He wiſhes "to become *independent*. But other circumſtances concur to favour the opi- "nion, that the Nabob *projects a connexion with the French*. All theſe cir- "cumſtances and the *general tenor of* " *the Nabob's late conduct*, concur to "eſtabliſh in our minds, the opinion We have herein before ſuggeſted, "which in brief is this,"

"That the Nabob's views are under the preſent favour and countenance "of the crown to make him Self totally independent of the Company; and "*then, by means of the French, to counterbalance the power of the crown, ſo* "*as to be independent of both*, and to throw his weight into either ſcale, as "may in different conjunctures, beſt ſuit his intereſts."

No. VI.

No. VI.

1771. April 10. From the Court of Directors to the ſelect Committee at Fort St. George.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee at Fort St. George, dated the 10*th April* 1771.

"That You ſhould on no account withdraw our troops from the for- "treſſes which they garriſon in the Carnatic." ..... "And to iſſue our "poſitive inſtructions that you do not *at any future time, give the Nabob* "the leaſt reaſon to expect, that ſuch a meaſure can *poſſibly* take place." ..... "No ſooner was the Nabob put in poſſeſſion of the *ſaid forts*, and "the Company's troops *removed*, than his own rebellious ſubjects were "hardy enough to attempt re-taking ſome of them, and their ſucceſs "ſhews, that They had little more to do, than to appear before them in "order to obtain poſſeſſion; on which account, the Nabob him Self de- "clared He was tired out with the frequent accounts received of the depre- "dations of the plunderers, and that He was fully convinced his troops

"were

" were unequal to the taſk of ſuppreſſing them. . . . . " We cannot " conceive, that He has even a right to expect Us to recede from our part " of the agreement." D.

No. VII.

No. VII.

Extract from Fort St. George Military Conſultations, 24 June 1771.

1771. June 24. Military Conſultations at Fort St. George.

" The original object of the war with Hyder Ally, was to *reduce his* " *power*, which was grown dangerous to the Carnatic Payen Gaut, for " the government of which He had obtained a Sunnud from the Soubah. " Upon this ground the Nabob, or in other words, the Carnatic, became " the principal, and the Company, who in their own poſſeſſions had little " to fear from Hyder Ally, were only auxiliaries."

" The *Nabob was him Self* in a great meaſure, *the cauſe of the unfortunate* " *concluſion of the war*. All the conqueſts from Baramaul to Combettore, " were put into his Hands, except Euroad: the Seapoys He placed in the " forts for their defence, were neither paid, nor were the forts provided " with any proviſion or means of reſiſtance: ſo that when Hyder Ally " marched down ſuddenly into thoſe countries in December 1769, every " place ſurrendered upon his appearance before it, without firing a gun. " Had any one fort reſiſted *but two days*, Major Fitzgerald, with his de- " tachment in purſuit of Hyder Ally, would have reached him, and pro- " bably would have prevented all the diſaſters which enſued."

No. VIII.

No. VIII.

Extract of the Military Conſultations, dated Fort St. George, 28th September 1772.

1772. Sept. 28. Military Conſultations at Fort St. George.

" It is well known, that the ſtile and addreſs, uſed in writing in India, " are regulated according to the rank and ſtation both of the addreſſor " and the perſon addreſſed. This being the known and eſtabliſhed uſage " in the Eaſt, We may without difficulty aſſign the Nabob's motives for " the requeſt He now makes. *He has long wiſhed to render him Self inde-* " *pendent of the Company*, and to figure in the eyes of the country powers, " and nothing can more effectually tend to produce that effect, than to " raiſe his own conſequence and to debaſe that of the Company: and the " more elevated and diſtinguiſhed the ſtile and honours are, by which We " addreſs Him, ſo much the more will His conſequence be increaſed, and " the Company's diminiſhed."

No. IX.

D.
No. IX.

No. IX.

1772. Nov. 16. Military Consultations at Fort St. George.

Extract of Military Consultations of Fort St. George, dated 16th November, 1772.

"The Rajah of Tanjore, 'till his late humiliation, certainly never considered him Self *as a dependant on the Nabob:* he held him Self *equal to Him at leaſt:* he paid, 'tis true, an acknowlegement yearly to the *empire*, but considered the *Nabob* as no more than *the Deputy*, or *the Officer of that Empire*, authoriſed to receive that acknowlegement, while He, the *Rajah*, held his *kingdom* by *inheritance*, and exerciſed every act of *independent ſovereignty* in it. 'Tis no wonder, then, that He ſhould not have uſed the Arzdaſht, it might rather have been expected, that He would have aſſumed a character of *ſuperior dignity to that of the Nabob*, whoſe office is conſtitutionally revocable at pleaſure."

No. X.

No. X.

1773. May 31. From the Nabob to the Governor of Fort St. George.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob of Arcot to the Governor of Fort St. George, dated and received the 31ſt May 1773.

"I am the beſt judge of my own affairs, and I can beſt plan out the beſt meaſures for thoſe expences, that my country is able to ſuſtain," ..... "And I now therefore write You, that I cannot defray this extraordinary charge, nor will I put in your option to place any charge to my account, without my firſt having given my conſent. And if You ſend Me any book of accounts, with any ſuch charge, I ſhall ſend it back again" ..... "but if at times, when it may be neceſſary to ſettle ſome plan for the good of my affairs, and alſo with regard to the number of troops I ſhall think ſufficient for the protection of my country, and the mode of paying the expences" ..... "reſpecting theſe things, They will excuſe Me, *if I take the liberty of determining for my Self.*"

No. XI.

No. XI.

Sept. 27. 1773. Military Conſultations at Fort St. George.

Extract from Fort St. George Military Conſultations, dated the 27th September 1773.

"The Preſident informs the Board, that He has received a private letter from General Smith, repreſenting in the ſtrongeſt terms, his apprehenſions for the ſecurity of Tanjore, if not garriſoned with the *Company's troops*; and adviſing that the troops ſhould not march towards Nagore,

"until

" until the ſafety of Tanjore is provided for, by putting *an European garri-* D.
" *ſon* in the place. The Preſident then acquaints the Board, that previous
" to the receipt of the General's letter, He had repreſented to the Nabob the
" expediency of having an European garriſon in Tanjore." .....
" That the Nabob had always *evaded giving a poſitive anſwer* to the Pre-
" ſident on this ſubject." ..... " The Board taking the ſubject into
" conſideration, are convinced of the propriety and neceſſity of our taking
" every meaſure in our power to provide for the ſecurity of the new con-
" queſt: and it does not appear, that this purpoſe can be anſwered any
" other way ſo effectually."

No. XII.

No. XII.

Extract from Fort St. George Military Conſultations, dated the 28th September 1773.

1773. Sept. 28. Military Conſultations at Fort St. George.

" The Preſident reports, that He waited on the Nabob yeſterday even-
" ing, and communicated to Him the ſentiments of General Smith on the
" neceſſity of having an European garriſon in Tanjore; and that He, the
" Preſident, had *uſed every argument he could deviſe* to prevail upon the Nabob
" to acquieſce in the meaſure; that the Nabob had called again upon Him
" this morning, and after much converſation on the ſubject, his ultimate
" determination was to the following purport—That He was not in the
" leaſt convinced of the expediency of having an European garriſon in Tan-
" jore, as He conſidered the place perfectly ſecure in the *poſſeſſion of his*
" *own troops.*" ..... " That for the preſent He has no occaſion for
" the aſſiſtance of Europeans in Tanjore, *when He has*, He will then apply
" for them." ..... " The Preſident further added, that the Nabob
" *expreſt much uneaſineſs*, and appeared to be *alarmed* at our preſſing this
" meaſure ſo ſtrenuouſly." ..... " His troops are ill paid and conſe-
" quently diſaffected to his ſervice; without good diſcipline, or a proper re-
" gard to military ſubordination." ..... " And ſince the Nabob is *deter-*
" *mined* againſt the meaſure" ..... " or in conſequence of his refuſing
" to admit an European garriſon, as General Smith recommends"
..... " it was *through neceſſity* determined to deliver over the fort of
" Tanjore, as ſoon as ſubdued, to the *Nabob*; it is *optional* with Him,
" whether to admit an European garriſon or not" ..... " but when
" there is every reaſon to apprehend it would have quite a contrary
" effect, and moſt certainly would produce *violent diſguſt* in the Na-
" bob, We could not think our Selves juſtified in adopting a mea-
" ſure, which might be attended with very diſagreeable conſequences.
" It is evident to the whole Board, *from the diſpoſition of the Nabob,*
" *that the more this meaſure is urged, the more ſtrenuouſly will he oppoſe*
" *it*" ..... " the Board are unanimous in their opinion to ad-

" here

D. "here to the former reſolution of aſſiſting the Nabob with the Company's "troops, in recovering the lands in the Tanjore country, lately alienated "to the Dutch."

No. XIII.

No. XIII.

Fort St. George Military Conſultations, 4th October 1773.

1773. Sept. 28. From General Smith to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George.

Extract of a Letter from Brigadier General Joſeph Smith to the Governor and Council, dated the 28th Sept. 1773.

"I ſhall never deem the place ſafe with ſuch a garriſon, and the ſtory "of Mullewakeel in the Myſore country confirms my opinion." . . . . . "I hope the Honourable Board will forgive Me if I have ſaid too much "on a ſubject I confeſs myſelf anxious about, which is the preſervation of "a place, *that has coſt us ſome lives, and is of more conſequence than any "other fort in the Nabob's poſſeſſion.*"

No. XIV.

No. XIV.

Fort St. George Military Conſultations, 29th Sept. 1773.

1773. Sept. 29. Anſwer to the above.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor and Council to Brigadier General Smith.

"No arguments have been omitted, which We thought would have any "weight with the Nabob to induce Him to acquieſce in a meaſure, ſo *eſ-"ſentially neceſſary.* If We thought that a refuſal to comply with his re-"quiſition, unleſs He conſented to what We propoſe, would be juſtifiable, "or would be attended with any good conſequences, We ſhould not be a-"verſe to making the trial; but We fear the conſequences would be dia-"metrically oppoſite to what We wiſh."

And ſo much for this *affectionate* ally, the preſent Nabob. The reader will make his own comments on the conduct of the ſervants of the Company, who at the very time they are declaring this affectionate Ally to be ambitious—to be deſirous of rendering his Self independent of the Company—to be diſpoſed, and ready, to join the French—can think it their duty to feed his ambition; to facilitate the means of rendering him independent of the Company; and to make him a more deſirable Ally to the French, by deſtroying the only check we had upon him—by ſtripping of his kingdom the *only* Ally upon whom we could depend, for the ſole purpoſe of giving it to the only man whom we had to fear.

. . . . . .

Proofs

E.

E.

Proofs that the Adjuſtment of the Demands made by the Nabob on the Rajah, was ſettled in the moſt equitable Manner by the Treaty of 1762: and that this Treaty was always underſtood by the Rajah, the Company, and the Nabob, to be perpetual, to extend not only to the late Rajah, Pertaub Sing, but to him and his Deſcendants.

No. I.

No. I.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob of Arcot to Governor Pigot, containing an Account of the Tribute pretended to be due to him from the ſeveral Kings, Princes, Pollygars, Kellidars, and other Zemindars, in the Province of the Carnatic.

1761. From the Nabob to Lord Pigot.

" When Nunjunda Raur and Morarirow had been with Me in Trit-
" chinopoly, to aſſiſt me againſt Chundaſaheb's ſiege, the King of Tan-
" jore had alſo ſent a party to my aſſiſtance, but never failed to lay hold
" of that opportunity of deſiring Me to exempt ſomething in the arrears of
" tribute, which were due to Me as abovementioned, and make ſome
" abatement in the tribute alſo. As the Tanjore horſe were encamped
" pretty diſtant from the city of Tritchinopoly, and would not approach
" to my aſſiſtance, unleſs I ſigned a treaty for the purpoſe beforemention-
" ed, I was compelled to comply therewith (*o*).

No. II.

No. II.

Extract of a Letter from Governor Pigot to the Nabob of Arcot, dated the 2d Jan. 1762.

1762. Jan. 2. From Lord Pigot to the Nabob.

" In the mean time I think it will be proper to try what can be done
" with the King of Tanjore, by way of treaty; more eſpecially as the ex-
" pence of men, and ſtores, and money, ſhould force be uſed, will be un-

(*o*) All treaties, which the Nabob does not think advantageous, He is *compelled* to ſign. And that which he is compelled to ſign, *is not valid*. The Letter, from which this extract is made, contains a ſtatement of demands on the Rajah alone of one Carool, twenty lacks, and fifty thouſand rupees, beſides intereſt: and a ſtatement of demands on the ſeveral landholders, amounting to the annual ſum of more than a million of rupees, with arrears for fourteen years, and a demand on the King of Myſore, which alone is equal to all the laſt mentioned ſums. For the recovery of all which ſums, He gravely aſks for the aſſiſtance of the Company's troops. If the ſame plea be allowed to the Rajah, what becomes of the Treaty of 1771? He was *compelled* to ſign that treaty, not by the negative force of *aſſiſtance withheld*: but by the poſitive force of an army brought to beſiege him in his capital.

L. "avoidably greater than We can well bear. I ſend herewith for your peruſal, a copy of ſuch a letter as I think will be proper for Me to write Him, which ſhould be accompanied by one from your Excellency, ſetting forth the grounds of your claim, and the ſum You demand. I know it is the cuſtom in this country to *aſk a much larger ſum than is expected to be paid, and indeed than is juſtly due:* in this your own diſcretion muſt be your guide; for You beſt know what engagements You entered into with the Rajah, in the time of your diſtreſs, and how far thoſe engagements (if any there were) are in juſtice, binding on You now. I can only therefore recommend moderation in your demands, as moſt conſiſtent with the part I undertake to act in this negociation; I mean that of a mediator. This ſtands fully explained in my intended letter to the Rajah; and in that character I muſt be conſidered as a friend both to You, and to Him, engaged to do juſtice between you. I hope this plan will be attended with ſucceſs; but ſhould He obſtinately refuſe to accept of my friendſhip, and mediation, I muſt then compel Him to ſubmit by force."

No. III.

No. III.

1762. Jan. 13. From the Nabob to Lord Pigot.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob of Arcot to Governor Pigot, received the 13th Jan. 1762.

"I have peruſed a copy of your letter to the King, and find it *very juſt and proper*. Let Me inform You, that the affairs of the Peiſcaſh are not under the ſame rule and regulation, *for it always depended on the ſtrength of arms; and according as We make uſe of force, ſo They meet with ſucceſs.* The former Governors received of the Tanjore King large ſums of money by *force*, which is fully ſet forth in the paper I delivered You before. By the *bleſſing of God*, and *through your favour*, I have *more force, and power*, than any body elſe; for the former Governors never had the Engliſh troops with them. The ſaid nation are faithful and ſincere friends to Me. The memorandum I gave you of the Peiſcaſh, due to Me from the King of Tanjore, *is juſt and reaſonable* (p). If the Engliſh army is left entirely under *my diſpoſal*, regarding its march, encampment, and *in all other* proceedings for receiving, or executing, at my diſcretion, affairs will immediately, and agreeably to the *preſent* times, be *diſpatched in a better manner*; ſhould We endeavour to manage by negociation, it will take up long time."

(p) The reader ſees what the Nabob means by "*juſt and reaſonable.*" Take his own comment: "*by the bleſſing of God, and through your favour I have force and power*" to make him pay what I demand.

No. IV.

E.
No. IV.

No. IV.

Extract of a Letter from the King of Tanjore to Governor Pigot, received the 9th March 1762.

1769. March 9. From the King of Tanjore to Lord Pigot.

" Let me take the liberty to inform You, that when formerly Doast " Alli Khan and Sadatulla Khan governed the Arcot country, They " managed all the affairs to the northward themſelves (meaning the affairs " at the Decan, Governor's, Morattoes, &c. Courts) and took care to keep " my Government free from all manner of moleſtation. At that time We " paid ſome ſettled tribute, kept a ſmall army, ſettled its pay in modera- " tion, defrayed the charges proportionable to the incomes received, and " were happy."

No. V.

No. V.

Extract of a Letter from Governor Pigot to the Nabob of Arcot, dated the 31ſt May 1762.

1762. May 31. From Lord Pigot to the Nabob.

" I therefore think it is the beſt way to ſend a Gentleman to the Court " of Tanjore, with full power from You and from Me to ſettle the affairs. " I have pitched upon Mr. Dupré for this ſervice, and have given Him " ſuch inſtructions as I think the circumſtances of affairs require. He will " wait upon You firſt to communicate to You my ſentiments, in every re- " ſpect, which I hope, and doubt not, will be agreeable to You; and in " ſuch caſe He will receive your inſtructions alſo, and then proceed to the " Court of Tanjore. The ſettling all affairs in this part of the country has " been left entirely to You; and I have not interfered otherwiſe than with " my advice. The preſent caſe is different: *I conſider the King of Tanjore* " *as a ſovereign Prince*, with whom it is neither your intereſt nor mine to " enter into a war if it can with prudence be avoided."

No. 6.

No. VI.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Dupré to the Nabob of Arcot.

1762. From Mr. Dupré to the Nabob.

" The Rajah inſiſts, that the bond for ſeven lacks of rupees, given to " An'waro'dean Khan Bahadar, your late father, has been *diſcharged*, and " He is ready to *prove* it by the Circars who paid it."

" He produces Your letter, releaſing Him from the payment of ten " years Peiſcaſh."

E. "He produces a grant under your hand, and ſeal, for Coiladdy, &c. "villages.

"He inſiſts, that the juſt, and lawful Peiſcaſh, according to the Mo- "gul's books, is no more than *two lacks* per an. and that it was paid at "that rate, from the time of the Government of Zulphahur Khan Bahadar, "to the end of Sadatulla Khan's (*q*)."

No. VII.

No. VII.

1762. July From the Nabob to Lord Pigot.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob of Arcot to Governor Pigot, dated the 17th and received the 27th July 1762.

"The reaſon of My writing ſo fully to You is to let You know, that "when the Tanjoreans tranſacted their affairs with the former Governors of "the provinces, They never aſked or admitted any mediators; but now "They deſire You to be a mediator; in which caſe the *Peiſcaſh cannot be* "*increaſed or abated for the future.*"

No. VIII.

No. VIII.

1762. Sept. 20. From the Governor and Council of Fort St. George to Mr. Dupré.

Extract of Letter from the Governor and Council of Fort St. George to Joſias Dupré, Eſq, dated the 20th Sept. 1762.

"Having well weighed and conſidered all circumſtances, relative to the "negociation with the King of Tanjore, the nature of the Nabob's de- "mands, the objections made by the King, and the propoſals offered by "Him, the conſequence of a rupture, and the advantages of an accommo- "dation; upon the whole We have come to a final reſolution, and have "obtained the *Nabob's conſent* to certain articles, which We hope *the King* "*may be prevailed upon* to ſubſcribe to. Theſe articles are digeſted in form "of a treaty, two parts whereof are delivered to You herewith; the one "ſigned by the Nabob, the other to be ſigned by the King, if He approve "of it, and both ſubſcribed by Us as *Guarantees.*"

No. IX.

No. IX.

1763. Dec. 30. From the Court of Directors to Lord Pigot.

Extract of a ſeparate General Letter from the Court of Directors to Governor Pigot, regarding the Nabob and the Rajah of Tanjore, dated the 30th December 1763.

"Your making a peace between the Nabob, and the King of Tanjore, "was an event, ſo much to be *deſired*, that we cannot but be *highly pleaſed*

(*q*) To all this the Nabob replied in general, that the Releaſes he gave were forced from him; that the tribute ſhould always be regulated by the force of the receiver and the weak- neſs of the tributary.

"*with*

" *with it*; eſpecially as the terms are *agreeable and advantageous to both par-* E.
" *ties*; but as in all probability a rupture with that Prince would have en-
" gaged Us in the quarrel, as an ally to the former; and when anew the
" flame was lighted up, there is no knowing how it might ſpread; at a
" time too, when the ſtate of our military force was not in a condition for
" undertaking a new war, beſides involving Us in moſt heavy expences,
" the certain conſequences of military operations."

" *Your proceedings on the whole of this negociation have been judicious.*"
. . . . . " The twenty-ſix lacks of rupees, which have been recovered by
" the ſaid treaty, and *in full of all arrears*, due to the Nabob from the
" King of Tanjore, is in fact an happy acquiſition to the Company, as it
" is to be applied towards the diſcharge of the Nabob's debt."

No. X.

No. X.

Extract of a Letter from Robert Palk, Eſq. Governor of Fort St. George to the young King of Tanjore, dated the 23d December 1763.

1763. Dec. 23. From Governor Palk to the King of Tanjore.

" By a letter this inſtant received from the Commandant of Tritchino-
" poly, I have learnt the melancholy news of your father's death: and as I
" always had a particular regard for Him, as well as a ſtrong attachment
" to the government of Tanjore, I take this early opportunity to offer You
" my compliments of condolance on the deceaſe of my good friend,
" your late father; and at the ſame time to congratulate You *on your ſuc-*
" *ceſſion to ſo high a dignity*: wiſhing You ſucceſs in the management of that
" government, *which God Almighty has been pleaſed to place in your hands.*"
. . . . . " I alſo draw this happy preſage, that You will punctually fulfil
" the *engagements of your father*, and carefully cultivate the friendſhip of
" thoſe who were his friends. I need not obſerve, that the Engliſh have
" always diſtinguiſhed them Selves by their conſtant ſupport of, and
" attachment to, the Tanjore government: and I flatter Myſelf your Ma-
" jeſty will purſue ſuch meaſures, and obſerve ſo prudent a conduct, that
" the bands of friendſhip between Us will be ſtrengthened, rather than
" weakened. I will venture to recommend the ſame between the Nabob
" and You, whoſe intereſt is ſo ſtrongly united with us, that there can be
" no difference." . . . . . " You may at all times depend on the firm
" friendſhip of the Engliſh, your ancient, and faithful allies."

No. XI.

E, No. XI.

No. XI.

1764. Jan. 16. From the King of Tanjore to Governor Palk.

Extract of a Letter from the young King of Tanjore to Governor Palk, received the 16th January 1764.

" When I aſked my father's advice at the time of his death, He was " pleaſed to ſay, that He had not acquired any money, but only procured " the Nabob's, and Governor's friendſhip, as well as their brotherly affec- " tion, and that They will favour Me in every reſpect. Accordingly the " Nabob was ſo good as to ſend Me a letter of condolance, with a preſent " of cloth, &c.

No. XII.

No. XII.

1763. Dec. 31. From Nabob to the King of Tanjore.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to the King of Tanjore, dated the 31ſt December 1763.

" It is not in the power of the pen to expreſs the many good qualities " of Rajah Pertaub Sing. You with your own eyes have ſeen the greatneſs " of his friendſhip and regard for Me, and how he eſteemed Me as his " eldeſt brother." ..... " As your father looked upon Me as his *eldeſt* " *brother*, I therefore eſteem You in the light of a ſon, and will ſhew You as " much kindneſs. My greateſt deſire is, that our friendſhip may be en- " larged more than before. Let Me have the pleaſure of learning from " You if there is any thing depending upon Me for the ſettling of your " government." ..... " It is neceſſary that You ſhould have always " before your eyes my looking upon You in the light of *a ſon*." ..... " I ſend You as a token of my regard, a horſe, an elephant, two diamonds, " and a dreſs, conſiſting of five pieces.

" *In the Nabob's own Hand.*"

" I was extremely afflicted at your father's death, but on account *of your* " *ſucceeding Him*, am now eaſy. Make your Self happy in every reſpect: " look upon Me as your *friend and aſſiſter*. As rain is to a garden, ſo " will I be to you (*r*).

No. XIII.

No. XIII.

The King's anſwer to the preceding Letter.

Extract of a Letter from the King of Tanjore to the Nabob.

" Juſt before He expired I aſked Him what advice and directions He " had to give Me. He told me, that as to money, He had acquired none,

(*r*) To a common underſtanding this would appear the language of an equal to an equal, but the diſcerning author of the Abſtract has diſcovered, that it is the ſtile of a lord to his vaſſal. See Abſtract, folio 8.

" but

" but that He had procured your favour, *brotherly love*, and affection, and " that You would be a *father* to Me in his ſtead, and ſtill more kind, in " every reſpect, than He had been, and that I ſhould treat You in the ſame " manner as He had done." ..... " Hoſſan Ally Khan told Me in " your name, not to afflict my Self in any reſpect, that *agreeably to the* " *agreement You had made with my father at your meeting, You would ſhew* " *Me kindneſs.*" ..... " You may depend upon my acting *conformably* " *to the agreement made by my father*, and doing nothing diſagreeable to " You. As the expences of this government are very great, and the re- " venues ſmall, You ſhould continually have before your eyes, the " ſtrengthening of it, and the enabling Me to manage the affairs thereof in " the beſt manner poſſible."

This too, the cunning Author of the Abſtract diſcovers to be the language of a vaſſal: to a man of leſs diſcernment it would appear to be the language of an equal to an equal.—It talks of *agreements*, of *friendſhip*, of *brotherly love*; but ſays nothing of *ſuperiority* on the one hand, or of *ſubmiſſion* on the other. It is a letter from a young to an old man: from a man who was juſt going to take the reins of government, to one who had held them for years: from an unexperienced Prince, to One who had much experience, and who had been, or had *pretended* to be the faſt friend of his father: who acknowleged obligations to that father: who had begged to be conſidered as a man who wiſhed to ſupply the loſs of that father.—It ſpeaks therefore the language of reſpect, but not of vaſſalage.

The Letters contained under the two laſt Letters of the Appendix, will have given the reader a juſt idea of the duplicity of the Nabob's character: of his inveterate hatred to the King of Tanjore: of his having formed the deſign of ruining him from the very moment of his acceſſion. Hence too the Reader may judge of the modeſty of the Nabob, and his agent, who pretend that the preſent Rajah " became the ſucceſſor of his father, of " *his own accord*, and contrary to the cuſtom of the country (*s*):" whereas the Nabob's own letters, written *at the time*, ſpeak of his ſucceſſion, congratulate him on his ſucceſſion, as a ſucceſſion to his undoubted hereditary rights: hence too the reader may judge of the veracity of the Nabob and his Agent, who declare that the treaty of 1762 did not extend to the deſcendants of Peſtaub Sing, whereas the letters of the Governor of Fort St. George, which congratulate the preſent King on his ſucceſſion to the throne, expreſsly declare that he is bounden by the *agreements* of his father, which agreements are contained in that very treaty.

The treaty of 1762, and a letter written by Lord Pigot to the Nabob, on the ſubject of this treaty, ſhall cloſe the Appendix. This letter is a very capital

(*s*) See Nabob's Letter, folio 5.

" performance:

performance: it does equal honour to his integrity and diſcernment, and contains a full proof of what has been ſo often repeated; that the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by the treaty of 1762, is that ſyſtem to which the Company ought ſteadily to adhere.

F.

F.

1762. Aug. 12. Letter from Lord Pigot to the Nabob.

Letter from Lord Pigot to the Nabob, dated Auguſt 12th 1762.

"I received the letter You did Me the favour to write Me, dated 17th "July. I have left it unanſwered 'till this time, becauſe I expected to "have had the pleaſure of ſeeing You; but as I do not hear of your ſet- "ting out, and it is not proper to loſe time in a buſineſs of this importance, "I will now give You my ſentiments freely. I know full well that it is "the cuſtom of Indoſtan to ſtudy more how to write *politely and pleaſingly*, "than how to expreſs the ſentiments of the *heart*: but the ſtrict friendſhip "which ought, and I hope ever will ſubſiſt between You and the Com- "pany, renders the cuſtom improper in tranſactions between Us. I have "always expreſt my Self in plainneſs and ſincerity: I will continue to do "ſo, not doubting but it will be agreeable to You.

"Before I reply particularly to the articles of your letter, it is neceſſary, "that I deliver my ſentiments on a ſubject which regards your future hap- "pineſs, as well as the intereſt of the Company; and I do it the more "earneſtly, as I have ſome thoughts of leaving India ſhortly, and I ſhould "reproach my Self of being wanting in the duty I owe to my Employers, "and in the regard I owe to You, were I to return to my native country, "and leave you in any doubt on a point of this importance.

"You muſt excuſe Me if I err in judgment; but I think I have reaſon "to conclude, from many inſtances, that your future views extend far "beyond the limits of your power; and conſequently the objects of them "muſt be contrary to your true intereſt.

"When the Company firſt took up arms in your favour, they found "You ſeated in the government of this province, according to the conſti- "tution of the country: and it has been in ſupport of that conſtitution, that "They have waged a twelve years war on your behalf; but They never "had an idea of foreign conqueſts. The expulſion of the French having "at length freed this province from competitors, my firſt care was to fix "You firmly in your government: You then deſired to be aſſiſted with a "force, to collect from the Zemindars a reaſonable tribute, and you was "aſſiſted accordingly; not with any intention of making conqueſts,

"but

" but to reſtore order and juſt obedience in the province, and to enable F.
" You to reimburſe the Company the ſums They had expended in the war.
" Even Mortiz Ally Khan (wicked as He was) might to this hour, have
" enjoyed his fort, and Jaghire, had He been wiſe, and conſented to
" pay a reaſonable ſum. To conclude, the ſame principles that induced
" the Company to ſpend ſo much blood and treaſure in ſupport of your
" government, will lead Them equally to ſupport every other lawful go-
" vernment, and to maintain peace in the country, that the people may be
" happy, and their trade flouriſh.

" I now proceed to the affairs of the King of Tanjore: and here I muſt
" take the liberty to ſay, You ſeem much more deſirous of *making a con-*
" *queſt of his country* than *of ſettling amicably with Him:* for though You
" diſapprove every article of his propoſal, yet You would *accept the ſum*
" He offers, without *mediation*, You ſay; that is, *You would willingly take*
" *the money, but ſtill be left at liberty, and reſolve in your own mind to attack*
" *Him, whenever You ſhould find your Self able to do ſo.* Is this juſt? Sub-
" der Ally Cawn's example is the worſt You can place before your eyes;
" for he was, in the inſtance You quote, an oppreſſor.

" I will take a review of the articles propoſed by the King of Tan-
" jore and of your remarks on them, and give my thoughts on both.

The King's Propoſal.

I.

" To pay twenty-two lacks of rupees Peiſcaſh in three years. He alſo
" offers five lacks of Durbar-charges, and would have this admitted in full
" to the end of Phaſby 1172."

The Nabob's Remark.

" You do not diſapprove the ſum, but inſiſt on the whole in ready mo-
" ney, and that only in full to the end of Phaſby, 1171."

" Out of the five lacks Durbar-charges, one lack is promiſed for the
" cuſtomary duty at Tanjore, called Dahaiky, which Mr. Dupré tells Me
" You are ſatisfied with."

" If the remaining twenty-ſix lacks be paid in two years, and that in
" full to the end of Phaſby 1171, I think it ſhould be accepted; and in
" that caſe, your account may be immediately diſcharged of that ſum, and
" the King of Tanjore will then become debtor; ſhould He fail in payment,
" ſuch a breach of treaty will expoſe Him more juſtly to our reſentment,
" than any thing I ſee in his conduct at preſent."

F.

II.

" In conſideration of the ſaid ſum, the King deſires, that the bond for " ſeven lacks of rupees, given by Him, to the late Nabob, An'waro'dean " Khan Bahadar, may be delivered up; the ſame (as He alledges) being " paid."

Remark.

" You ſay the amount of this bond is juſtly due from the King, beſides " the Peiſcaſh He ſtands indebted to You."

" That the bond remains in your hands is certain, and that no part of " it has been paid to You, is equally true; but the King undertakes to " prove, that five lacks in part thereof, were paid in ready money, by cer- " tain Soucars, to your late father; and that the rents of the Moyaveram " country were aſſigned to Him for the payment of the reſt. If the King " can ſhew this clearly, as He ſays He can, that ſum cannot in juſtice be " demanded again, although the bond be in Your poſſeſſion; but in ſuch " caſe your Honour requires, that it ſhould be delivered up."

III.

" The King deſires, that the fort and Jaghire of Arnumay be reſtored " to the Killedar."

Remark.

" You ſay, that the King has no right to aſk this; even his predeceſſors " had not a legal right to Tanjore; and here You give Me ſome particu- " lars of the conqueſt of Indoſtan by the Mogul, in conſequence of which, " all Indians acknowledged Him Sovereign and paid Him a Peiſcaſh."

" I think it not at all to our preſent purpoſe to enquire into the legality " of the preſent King's rights; it is ſufficient, that He is acknowledged by " the whole country, *and was ſo long before You had a Sunnud for the Go-* " *vernment of the Arcot province.* We found You a Nabob, and therefore " ſupported You as ſuch: We found Him King of Tanjore, and have no " inclination to diſturb Him, if He will comply with reaſonable terms. " As to the Killedar of Arnee, as far as I can learn, He by *inheritance* " from his anceſtors, did poſſeſs that Jaghire by as good a title as any other " Jaghirdar in the country: He never interfered, during all the late " troubles, either on the one ſide, or the other. It was, however, rea- " ſonable, that He ſhould pay a moderate ſum towards the charges of the " war; He was fooliſh, and therefore would not comply with Our de- " mands. We were obliged to attack his fort and take it. There is,

" however,

" however, a great difference between Him and Mortiz Ally Khan; this F.
" laſt was a wicked and perfidious and dangerous man, and your declared
" enemy; the other was a peaceable, inoffenſive man, whoſe only fault
" was indiſcretion. And whether the King of Tanjore had made this an
" article in his demand or not, I ſhould equally have recommended to You
" to reſtore Him his Jaghire, keeping the fort yourſelf; He paying an-
" nually the cuſtomary tribute; this will be acting agreeable to your uſual
" compaſſion, and acquire a good name in the country.

IV.

" The King of Tanjore deſires that Coiladdy and Clangad may be con-
" firmed to Him."

Remark.

" You acknowlege, that You *did grant* Him a Sunnud for theſe places;
" but that it is *proper to recall* it; and take the places back; becauſe,
" whilſt They are in your poſſeſſion, it will enable You, whenever You
" think proper, to *cut the bank and thereby deprive the Tanjore country of*
" *water* (as Subder Ally Cawn did). If the King pays the ſum of money
" before mentioned, there will be no occaſion to cut the bank. But Sub-
" der Ally Cawn, You ſay, by that means poſſeſt Himſelf of the whole
" Tanjore country, and placed a garriſon in the fort; and *therefore it is pro-*
" *per You ſhould have the power of doing the ſame.* I differ from You in
" opinion. If the King pays his Peiſcaſh regularly and behaves Himſelf in
" a friendly manner, He ought not to be diſtreſſed: We ought to content
" Ourſelves with a peaceable enjoyment of our own, without diſturbing
" the quiet of our neighbours: but ſhould it at any time be neceſſary to
" make war upon the King, it will be no difficult matter to cut the bank;
" even though Coiladdy and Clangad remain in his poſſeſſion; and I think
" You cannot, conſiſtently with the dignity of your character, revoke the
" Sunnud You have given."

V.

" The King deſires a promiſe, that You will not, in future, demand
" more Peiſcaſh than is expreſt in the Mogul's accompt."

Remark.

" You ſay Subder Ally Cawn and Coja Ab-dulla Cawn, with a ſmall
" army, collected large ſums, but that at leaſt You ought to receive as
" much as what your late father ſettled."

F. "As it is now proper to ſettle affairs on a juſt and equitable footing, "that peace may be firmly eſtabliſhed, the ſums levied by former Nabobs "by oppreſſion and force of arms cannot be brought as an example: "it is better to look back to the times, when peace and juſtice prevailed. "I am of opinion, that if the Rajah pays in future the ſame ſum for Peiſ-"caſh as appears in the Mogul's books, and Durbar-charges, as was uſual, "during the Government of Zulpheher Khan and Sadatulla Khan, it "will be juſt and proper."

"Having now given You my opinion of the whole, I muſt obſerve, "that if the above ſum of twenty-ſix lacks be transferred from your ac-"compt to the King's, You may very eaſily diſcharge the balance in the "courſe of the preſent year of Phaſby 1172, without diſtreſſing the coun-"try: but if You were to raiſe the whole this year on the country, the "ſame cruelties would be practiſed by the renters, as have been uſed in the "laſt year; though there is in reality no occaſion for diſtreſſing the people "in ſuch a manner. That We may finally adjuſt all theſe affairs, and ſome "others of importance, I wait with impatience for the pleaſure of ſeeing You "here. I hope, therefore, You will ſet out ſoon."

Treaty between the Nabob and King of Tanjore.

Fort St. George, 20th Sept. 1762.

At a Conſultation. Preſent,

GEORGE PIGOT, Eſq. Governor, Preſident,

STRINGER LAWRENCE,	ROBERT PALK,
CHARLES BOUCHIER,	JOHN PYBUS,
JOSIAS DUPRE,	JAMES ALEXANDER,

JOHN CALL.

"The following draught of a treaty to be executed between the Nabob, "and King of Tanjore, and guarantied by the Preſident and Council, is "now laid before the Board, and approved of.

"A treaty and agreement made and concluded between Woomdalool "Moollock Serajah Dowlah Anaverde Cawn Behauder Munſoor Jung, "Nabob of the Carnatic Pyen Gaut, and Pertaub Sing, Rajah of Tan-"jore, in manner following.

"Whereas a deſtructive war, fomented and carried on by the French, "and their Allies, againſt the ſaid Nabob, hath for many years laſt paſt,

"waſted

F.

" waſted and afflicted the province of the Carnatic Pyen Gaut, in which " war, the ſaid Nabob Anaverde Cawn Behauder *, hath at length, *with the " aſſiſtance of his Allies*, proved victorious, and reſtored peace and tranquil- " ity to the ſaid province. And whereas, at ſundry times, during the ſaid " troubles, the ſaid Rajah Pertaub Sing did yield ſome aid and aſſiſtance " to the ſaid Nabob Anaverde Cawn, whereby, as well as by the neceſſary " defence of his own kingdom againſt the French, he hath been put to great " expence; and whereas, by reaſon of the ſaid troubles, neither the ac- " count of Peiſcaſh, due from the ſaid Rajah *to the Mogul*, and payable " to the Nabob of the Carnatic, nor the account of expences of the ſaid " Rajah, incurred as aforeſaid, have been ſettled or adjuſted: but now it " having pleaſed God to reſtore peace to theſe countries, by the expulſion " of the common enemy, the ſaid Nabob, and the ſaid Rajah, being " equally deſirous that the people *whom God hath placed under their rule* " may enjoy the full fruits thereof, have mutually conſented to eſtabliſh a " firm friendſhip between them, and to that end, they have agreed, and " do agree, to ſettle and adjuſt all accounts and matters of diſpute between " them in manner following; and they do faithfully promiſe, each for " what concerns himſelf, punctually to perform the ſame.

" Firſt, The ſaid Rajah Pertaub Sing doth hereby oblige himſelf to pay " unto the ſaid Nabob, Anaverde Cawn Behauder, the ſum of twenty-two " lacks of rupees, coined in the Engliſh Eaſt India Company's mint, at " Fort St. George, or the value thereof, in ſtar pagodas, coined in the " ſaid mint, valuing the ſaid rupees at the rate of 350 for 100 pagodas, " at the times, and in manner following, that is to ſay,

" On the day of ſigning this agreement by the ſaid Pertaub Sing, three " lacks of rupees — — —		3,00000
" In the month of April, 1763, five lacks of rupees, —		5,00000
" In the month of November, 1763, five lacks of rupees —		5,00000
" In the month of April, 1764, five lacks of rupees —		5,00000
" In the month of Auguſt, 1764, four lacks of rupees —		4,00000
In all	Rupees	22,00000

" And the ſaid Nabob, Anaverde Cawn Behauder, doth agree to accept " of the ſaid twenty-two lacks of rupees, in full payment and ſatisfaction " for, or on account of Peiſcaſh, and in full of all accounts and de- " mands whatſoever, unto the 10th day of July laſt paſt, being the full " term and expiration of the year of Phaſby, 1171.

* Another name for Mohammed Alli Khan.

" Secondly,

F. "Secondly, The ſaid Rajah Pertaub Sing doth hereby oblige himſelf "to pay yearly, in the month of July, unto the ſaid Nabob, Anaverde "Cawn Behauder, *or his ſucceſſor*, the ſum of two lacks of rupees, as a "Peiſcaſh, or tribute to the Mogul; and foraſmuch as it hath been the "uſage and cuſtom to make certain preſents to the Nabob, and his prin- "cipal officers, at the time of paying the annual Peiſcaſh, the ſaid Ra- "jah doth promiſe to pay yearly, to the ſaid Nabob, *or his ſucceſſors*, at "the day and time of paying the ſaid Peiſcaſh, the further ſum of two "lacks of rupees, as a preſent, *provided that no further ſum, either for "Peiſcaſh, or Durbar charges, be demanded of him*; which ſaid two lacks, "making together four lacks, ſhall be paid in rupees, coined in the Com- "pany's mint, or in ſtar pagodas, at the abovementioned exchange. And the "ſaid Nabob, Anaverde Cawn Behauder, doth agree to accept of the firſt nam- "ed ſum of two lacks, in full for the annual Peiſcaſh *due to the Mogul*, and "alſo of the ſecond named ſum of two lacks of rupees, in full for the uſ- "ual and cuſtomary preſents, or Durbar charges; and doth hereby pro- "miſe, *that he will not demand any thing more.*

"Thirdly, Whereas the ſaid Nabob, Anaverde Cawn Behauder, hath "in his poſſeſſion a bond, given by the ſaid Rajah Pertaub Sing unto "the ſaid Nabob's late father, Anaverde Cawn Behauder, dated the 15th "moon Zehedgha Hygra, 1158, for the ſum of ſeven lacks of rupees, "which bond appears fair and uncancelled, and without any receipt or "endorſement thereon, although the ſaid Rajah Pertaub Sing doth al- "lege, that the ſame, or the greateſt part thereof, hath been diſcharged; "the ſaid Nabob, Anaverde Cawn Behauder, as a teſtimony of his good "inclinations to cultivate a laſting friendſhip with the ſaid Rajah, doth "promiſe, at the time of ſigning this agreement by the ſaid Rajah, that "he will cauſe the ſaid bond to be delivered up to him to be cancelled, as "if the ſame had been fully paid and diſcharged.

"Fourthly, The ſaid Nabob Anaverde Cawn Behauder, doth hereby "confirm unto the ſaid Rajah Pertaub Sing, the full and free poſſeſſion "and enjoyment of the diſtricts of Coiladdy and Clangad, which diſtricts "the ſaid Nabob did give and grant unto the ſaid Rajah, during the late "troubles, as may appear by the ſaid Nabob's Sunnuds.

"Fifthly, the ſaid Nabob, Anaverde Cawn Behauder, having expended "immenſe ſums, during the late troubles, in defence of the province "under his government, found it neceſſary, after the expulſion of the com- "mon enemy, to call upon the ſeveral Zemindars, Polygars, and Jagge- "dars, to contribute each a moderate ſum towards re-imburſing the mo- "nies ſo expended, in procuring the bleſſings of the peace, of which they

"became

F.

" became partakers; and amongſt others, did demand of Tremaul Row, " Killedar of Arni, his reaſonable quota; but the ſaid Tremaul Row hav- " ing obſtinately refuſed to comply therewith, and having alſo, in other " reſpects, behaved himſelf diſobediently, the ſaid Nabob found himſelf " obliged to compel him to a compliance with his demand, and did accord- " ingly ſubdue and take the forts of Arni and Doby Guddy, with all the " Jaghire thereunto belonging, *as alſo the perſon of the ſaid Tremaul Row,* " *with his family and others.* The ſaid Nabob having thus convinced the " ſaid Tremaul Row, and all the world that he can, and will, enforce due " obedience in all who are ſubject to his government, is now equally deſir- " ous of ſhewing to all mankind, that *compaſſion* is ſtronger in him than re- " ſentment; for theſe motives, as well as in condeſcenſion to the requeſt of " the ſaid Rajah Pertaub Sing, the ſaid Nabob doth hereby promiſe, that " as ſoon as the ſaid Rajah ſhall have ſigned this agreement, he the ſaid " Nabob, will cauſe the ſaid Tremaul Row, with his family, attendants, " and all other perſons, who were taken and made priſoners at Arni, to be " releaſed and ſet at full liberty; and further, that on the day the ſum of " three lacks of rupees, mentioned in the firſt article hereof, ſhall be paid, " he will cauſe the ſaid Tremaul Row to be put in full poſſeſſion of the " whole Jaghire he poſſeſſed, and enjoyed before the capture of Arni (ex- " cepting, however, the ſaid fort, and Doby Guddy, which the ſaid Na- " bob will retain in his own poſſeſſion) and provided that the ſaid Tremaul " Row ſhall not, *at any time hereafter*, erect, or cauſe to be erected, any " fortreſs, walled pagoda, or other ſtrong hold, and that he ſhall not " even, erect, or build, any wall round his dwelling-houſe, exceeding " eight feet high, or two feet thick, and further, that the ſaid Tremaul " Row ſhall in all things behave himſelf with due obedience to the govern- " ment, and pay yearly, in the month of July, unto the ſaid Nabob, or " his ſucceſſors, the ſum of ten thouſand rupees; and the ſaid Rajah Per- " taub Sing doth promiſe for the ſaid Tremaul Row, that he ſhall in all " things demean and behave himſelf accordingly, and pay yearly the ſtipu- " lated ſum.

❁ ❁ *Sealed by the parties.*

" WE George Pigot, Eſq. Governor of Fort St. George, and all the " forts, factories, and places, ſubordinate thereto, Preſident of the Coun- " cil for all the affairs of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company on the coaſt of " Coromandel, and alſo the ſaid Council, whoſe names are hereunto ſigned, " having greatly at heart the peace and tranquility of the countries where " the Company hold poſſeſſions, and to which They trade, ſee with great " ſatisfaction, the concluſion of the treaty of friendſhip between Nabob " Woomdalool Moolock Serajah Dowlah Anaverde Cawn Behauder Mun- " ſoor Jung, Nabob of the Carnatic Pyen Gaut, and Pertaub Sing, Ra-

" jah

F. "jah of Tanjore, of which the foregoing is a tranſlation, and being will-
"ing, and deſirous, as much as in Us lies, to eſtabliſh the friendſhip
"between them upon a laſting foundation, *do hereby promiſe to guarantee*
"*the performance of the ſaid treaty, being thereunto invited by both parties*;
"and accordingly we do hereby promiſe, as far as in Us lies, that in caſe
"either party ſhall fail in the performance of the articles He hath hereby
"undertaken to perform, or any part thereof, We will, to the utmoſt of
"our power, aſſiſt the other party, to compel Him who ſhould fail to
"fulfil His agreement, and to render due ſatisfaction for His failure
"therein. In witneſs whereof, We have hereunto ſet our hands, and
"cauſed the ſeal of the ſaid Company to be affixed hereto, in Fort St.
"George, the 12th of October, 1762.

GEORGE PIGOT, &c.

"*Ordered*, that two copies thereof be wrote in the Perſian and Morat-
"ta languages, that one of the Perſian copies, with a Moratta and
"Engliſh tranſlation annexed, *be* executed by the Nabob, and delivered
"to the King of Tanjore; and that a Moratto copy, with a Perſian and
"Engliſh tranſlation annexed, *be* executed by the King of Tanjore, and
"delivered to the Nabob; and that the inſtrument by which the Governor
"and Council guarantee the ſame, with a Perſian and Moratta tranſlation,
"be annexed to each of the parts."

The following Inſtructions are now ſigned and delivered to Mr. Dupré.

To Joſias Dupré, Eſq.

SIR,

"Having well weighed and conſidered all circumſtances, relative to the
"negociation with the King of Tanjore, the nature of the Nabob's demand,
"the objections made by the King, and the propoſals offered by Him, the
"conſequences of a rupture, and the advantages of an accommodation;
"upon the whole, We have come to a final reſolution, and have obtained
"the Nabob's conſent to certain articles, which we hope the King may be
"prevailed on to ſubſcribe to. Theſe articles are digeſted in form of a
"treaty; two parts are delivered You here, one to be ſigned by the King,
"if He approve of it, and both ſubſcribed by Us as guarantees. You are
"to proceed to Tanjore, and *endeavour to prevail on the King to accept the*
"*terms propoſed*; ſhould You ſucceed herein, in ſuch caſe, upon his ſign-
"ing that part of the treaty which is drawn out in that intention, You are
"to deliver to him the other part, which is ſigned by the Nabob, and re-
"ceive from Him the ſum of three lacks of rupees, mentioned in the firſt

"article

" article of the treaty, to be paid in ready money, or you may accept of " Soucar bills for the ſame.

" You are alſo to receive from the King, in ready money, or Soucar " bills, five lacks of rupees, which he offered as a preſent. This ſum is " not mentioned in the treaty, becauſe it is not the cuſtom, in tranſactions " between the Indian powers, to mention in public writings, the ſums " given as preſents; of the ſaid ſum, the Nabob has conſented to diſtri- " bute amongſt the King's principal officers, one lack for their uſual cuſtom " called Dahaitry, and the remaining four are to be placed to *the credit of* " *His account with the Company* *.

" By the third article of the treaty, the Nabob promiſes, that upon the " King's ſigning the treaty, He will cauſe a bond, given by the King to " the Nabob's late father to be delivered up and cancelled. The ſaid bond " is incloſed, and You are to deliver it up accordingly, upon the King's " ſigning the treaty, but not otherwiſe.

" The Nabob alſo engages, by the fifth article, that on the day of ſign- " ing the ſaid treaty by the King, he will cauſe Tremaul Row, late Kille- " dar of Arni, with his family, &c. to be releaſed, and ſet at liberty: en- " cloſed is the Nabob's order for that purpoſe, which is to be uſed accord- " ingly.

" If You ſhould not be able *to prevail on the King to ſign the treaty as it* " *is drawn out*, You are to acquaint Him, that You are not empowered " to make any further conceſſions and alterations, and thereupon You are to " take your leave and return hither.

We wiſh You ſucceſs, and are,

SIR,

your affectionate friends,

Fort St. George,
20 Sept. 1762.

GEORGE PIGOT, &c.

* The King of Tanjore's Vaqueel ſays, " This was intended as a preſent to Mr. Pigot, " but he would not receive any thing, and carried it to the Company's accompt."

G.

G.

Dobbeer's account of the ſtate of Tanjore from the depoſition, to the reſtoration, of the Rajah.

Dobbeer's Account of the State of Tanjore from the Depoſition, to the Reſtoration, of the Rajah; as inſerted by Lord Pigot in the Conſultation, 13th May, 1776.

Lord Pigot's Introduction.

" The revenues collected from the Tanjore country, during the time it " has been in the hands of the Nabob, are, I am informed as follows."

	Chuckrams.
" 1774	2,900,000
" 1775	5,000,000
" 1776	1,850,000
" Total	9,750,000

" Out of this ſum is to be deducted the charge of collection, repairs " of tanks, &c. the amount whereof in the laſt year was about 600,000 " Chuckrams. Suppoſing this as a medium; the amount in three years " will be 1,800,000; this deducted from 9,750,000 will leave 7,950,000, " which will be nearly the amount of what the Nabob *has received* from " the Tanjore revenues, *clear of all charges, and expences, whatever.* An " immenſe ſum—little leſs than 4,000,000 pagodas. The revenues of this " year will fall greatly ſhort of the uſual amount, occaſioned by the di- " ſtracted ſtate of the country, as repreſented in the following memorandum, " which was annexed to the accounts delivered to me by the Dobbeer, who " informed Me, that the balance for this year, in grain, and money, " amounts only to 550,000 chuckrams."

Dobbeer's Memorandum.

" Though the above ſum of 550,000 chuckrams occurs as a remainder, " due from the inhabitants on a general ſtatement of the revenue accounts, " yet it cannot be conſidered, as a balance, which can ever be collected; " for the month of April is near at an end; and yet the grain, from va- " rious impediments, has not been fully reaped; the conſequence of which " has been, that a quantity of rain having fallen, the water ſtands two " hands deep in the paddy fields, and much grain is damaged; no judg- " ment therefore can be formed of the produce, till it is threſhed, and " meaſured.

G.

" measured. Now the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the Tanjore country, has " hitherto been, to gather in the harveſt, and complete the collections, " within the month of March; but *Tunkaws* and *Towjees* having been made " out upon the country this year, to the *amount of ſixty lacks of chuckrams*, " the inhabitants took *the alarm*, as conceiving the *whole weight of this cala-* " *mity* would fall upon Them. But this was not their only ſubject of ap- " prehenſion; for They had received their advances of grain, for ſeed, " and other purpoſes, of the Circar, in the beginning of the year, at the " rate of *ſeven gold fanams* per cullum; and now, according to the new " aſſeſſment, They were to account for it with the Circar again *at the rate of* " *only two and one-half gold fanams per cullum.* They were now hard preſſed " too for the payment of their balances of laſt year, which were calculated, " not from the *produce*, but from the *aſſeſſment* of the lands, as farmed out " out to Them by the Circar. The Ameens alſo having rated the lands " *above* their real value, were continually forcing the people, by *impriſon-* " *ment*, and *other acts of violence*, to give Them *notes* for the ſums *com-* " *puted by Them* (the Ameens) to be due, as *though they had originally been* " *farmed out to them* at the rates now impoſed; during which tranſactions, " they prohibited the cutting of the grain. Having thus procured theſe " *notes* (*a*) of part of the inhabitants, and reſolving, that if the Rajah ſhould " be reſtored, He ſhould have *no balance to collect*, they delivered them " over to the *Tunkawdars*, the *regiments*, &c. which increaſed their ſuffer- " ings. Such were the circumſtances, which alarmed the inhabitants, and " made Them elope to Negapatam and the confines of the ſea-port towns; " and thus the harveſt was delayed till the month of March was over. But " Nizam-ul-Deen Ahmed Khan applied himſelf to the appeaſing the inha- " bitants, and diſpatched cowls, with the cutchery ſeal affixed, into all the " ſoubahs, aſſuring Them, that the *notes*, which the Ameens had taken " from Them by *violence*, ſhould be *returned* to Them; that the lands " ſhould no longer be rented to Them as farms, but managed as circar- " lands; that their advances of grain, and the laſt year's balances ſhould " be accounted for in the ſame manner as this year's revenue; and finally, " that they ſhould ſuffer no longer from the Tunkawdars, and Towjeedars. " By this means, He recalled the people, returned them their notes, and " ſet the lands on the proper footing. But ſo great a delay in gathering " the harveſt having already taken place, and a great deal of rain having " alſo fallen in that interim, the inhabitants have of neceſſity ſuffered a " conſiderable loſs; and on this account it is, that the above balance can- " not be made good."

(*a*) Theſe perhaps might be the bonds, as Mr. Benfield calls them, of the inhabitants, which the Nabob's ſon aſſigned to him.

H.

H.

Proofs that the Countries, which, in his Letter to Commodore Hughes, the Nabob denies to belong to the Rajah, were in poſſeſſion of the Rajah at the Concluſion of the Treaty of 1762, and that they were not dependent, either on Arcot, or on Tritchinopoly.

No. I.

No I.

1762. Nabob's inſtructions to Mr. Dupré.

" *Extract of the Nabob's inſtructions to Mr. Dupré in 1762. Country Correſpondence, No. 74. Par. 5.*"

" With regard to the fort of Hanamantagoody belonging to the country " of Marawar, under Tritchinopoly, Colonel Caillaud himſelf went and " tried to prevent its being taken. Colonel Heron, on his part, ſent an " Engliſh flag from Tinnevelly, but the King abſolutely refuſed to liſten " to Him, and *took the ſaid Fort* by aſſault, and tore the flag. Beſides " which He took by force the Gady of Mangal Goody, Worore Cotah " and the Gady of Bonagary with its diſtricts, the revenues amounting to " two lacks of rupees."

" The King alſo *poſſeſſed* himſelf of the Gady Kealanally, Cota, Yaram- " banad, &c. belonging to Tondeman, under Tritchinopoly, amounting " to about a lack of rupees."

" The King likewiſe *poſſeſſed* himſelf of Sayah Cotah with its diſtricts, " belonging to Nalcooty, amounting to about a lack of rupees."

No. II.

No. II.

Mr. Dupré to the Nabob, in anſwer to the above.

" *Extract of Mr. Dupré's letter to the Nabob, 29th of June, 1762. Country Correſpondence, No. 77.*

" He (the Rajah) produces a letter from You, wherein *You give your* " *conſent*, that he might attack the Marawar and Natah Cotah (Nalcooty) " Polygars*."

* See the Nabob's reply to this, No. VI. fol. 47. It is curious.

No.

H.

No. III.

No. III.

" *Extract of a Letter from the Rajah of Tanjore to the Governor, received 14th October, 1762, entered in Country Correſpondence, No. 131.*

1762. 14th Oct. From the Rajah to Governor Pigot.

" With reſpect to my poſſeſſion of the diſtricts of Tana in the Colleries " country, I ſhall keep what I have at preſent, and ſhall not ſtrive to make " new conqueſts. Should the Polygars raiſe any diſturbance in the forts " and tanas, which *I have at preſent*, as above, You will be pleaſed to " ſend your order to them. Neither the Engliſh, nor the Nabob ſhould " aſſiſt the Polygars."

No. IV.

No. IV.

" *Extract of a Letter from the Governor to the Rajah of Tanjore, dated 19th October, 1762, entered in Country Correſpondence, No. 134. Par. 3.*

1762. 19th Oct. Governor Pigot in anſwer to the above.

" The ſenſe and meaning of the treaty is, that if You comply with the " articles, agreed to be performed by You, the Nabob is to maintain a " firm friendſhip with you, and not to give You *any diſturbance*. I deſire, " therefore, You will make yourſelf *perfectly eaſy in reſpect to the Polygars*. " They ſhall not be aſſiſted either by Me, or the *Nabob*, in giving You " any diſturbance, if You, on your part do not moleſt Them."

No. V.

No. V.

" *Letter from the Rajah of Tanjore, 25th March, 1771, Country Correſpondence, No. 67.*"

1771. March 25. From the Rajah of Tanjore.

" I have received your honour's friendly letter and obſerve the con- " tents."

" You was pleaſed to ſay, that You have been informed of my detach- " ing an army to *fight againſt Marawar* ; (*b*) as alſo of my ſetting out in " perſon ; acquainting Me at the ſame time, that it was improper in Me to " undertake the ſaid enterprize before I adviſe You with it."

(*b*) See the ideas of the Select Committee on this ſubject in their letter of the 28th of February, 1772, referred to by Governor Wynch and annexed to his letter, Papers, vol. i. page 10.

" Let

H. " Let Me take the liberty to inform You, that when my deceaſed fa-
" ther placed Bavanny Sunker Zavier in the government, Nalcooty was
" but a common Watcher, who was raiſed to power, by granting Him
" a ſhare in the Maravar country. At that time Naid, or Gentoo Rajah,
" was reigning in the Tritchinopoly country."

" After the ſaid Bavanny Sunker, one Cottah Zewin was eſtabliſhed in
" the government. Thus it *was hereditary cuſtom with Us* to place Them
" in the government. Was there any Nalcooty before? Or who was it
" that raiſed Him to that power? I deſire You will aſk *his own Vakeel*
" concerning this affair."

" The above cuſtom has been obſerved *from former times*. Now Ma-
" ravar hath taken upon him Self to ſeize the country that was enjoyed *by*
" *Us* to this day: ſince the time of my deceaſed father I often ſent Him
" word to quit the country, but He continued to behave him Self baſely."

" When You came to this place to ſettle a treaty, a mention of this
" affair was made to You; You was then pleaſed to ſay, that We were at
" liberty to clear our own country. A mention was alſo made to the Na-
" bob, concerning *our country* in poſſeſſion of Maravar, when We ſent
" troops againſt the commandant, the Nabob was then pleaſed to ſay,
" that He had ſent for the Maravar's aſſiſtance to Him at that juncture of
" time, ſo that We ſhould clear our *country afterwards*, for with reaſon I
" was in hopes to this day, that the Nabob and your honour, will give ſtrict
" orders to the Maravar to *reſtore our country*, and alſo wrote to my Va-
" keel on that head; but you and the Nabob did not get the country re-
" ſtored to Me: beſides which, when the elephants (relating to my pre-
" ſent from Negapatam) were coming, Nalcooty, pretending that the
" veſſels were drove aſhore by a ſtorm in his ſea-ports, ſeized the elephants,
" and detained them, concerning which I ſent Him word, as well as to
" your honour, but he did not return them to me. If I ſuffer Maravar to
" take poſſeſſion of *my country*, Nalcooty to ſeize my elephants, and Ton-
" deman to injure my country, it will be very great diſhonour to Me a-
" mong the people, to ſee ſuch compulſions uſed by the Polygars: You
" are a protector of My government, notwithſtanding You have not ſet-
" tled even a ſingle affair belonging to me. If I ſtay quiet, I ſhall greatly
" hurt my dignity, wherefore I marched my Self. If you now adviſe Me
" to deſiſt, what anſwer can I make to it?"

" In the treaty, it was not forbidden to clear the country poſſeſſed by
" Maravar, or to undertake an expedition againſt the Polygars, who may
" uſe compulſions; ſince it is ſo, it cannot be deemed contrary to the
" Treaty.

" Treaty. You was pleaſed to write, that if I deſiſt in my preſent expe- H.
" dition, you will then ſettle the affairs in a reaſonable manner. I con-
" tinued to ſpeak to You for this long time, concerning this affair, but
" You have not ſettled it; notwithſtanding, if you now write, that I did
" not acquaint You before I began it, what anſwer can I make to it? I
" did not undertake to do any thing contrary to the hereditary cuſtom ob-
" ſerved. You are well acquainted with all their affairs, and deſire You
" will examine thoroughly into this affair. I have finiſhed the affairs re-
" lating to Maravar, and confirmed him in his buſineſs. The affair with
" Nalcooty remains to be finiſhed, which I ſhall alſo finiſh. For other
" matters I have wrote to Sambagee Vakeel, to whom I refer you."

" What can I ſay more?"

" *N. B.* The words of my deceaſed father in the original, may be applied both to the father and grand-father."

No. VI.

No. VI.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Dupré, dated June, 1762.

1762. From the Nabob to Mr. Dupré.

" At that time my intention was, to go to Tinnevelly, but in the inte-
" rim the Governor wrote to Me in the ſtrongeſt manner to come to Ma-
" draſs, and as it was not proper to proceed thither through the French
" diſtricts, it was reſolved to go to Madraſs through the Rajah's country.
" Then, in *conſideration of his Vakeel's requeſt*, I, in order to preſerve his
" *good will*, wrote him a letter to *undertake an expedition againſt Marawar's*
" country, on condition of his junction and alliance with the Circar. The
" meaning of the word *expedition* here, is, either to *gain country* or *money*;
" if ſo, whether what is obtained by ſuch expedition, is to be kept for *his*
" uſe, or to be delivered to *Him*, who *commanded* Him to undertake it,
" the *Commander being my Self*, as above, I leave it to your conſideration."

No. VII.

No. VII.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Governor Pigot, dated 27th July, and received the 7th Auguſt, 1763.

1763. July 27. The Nabob to Governor Pigot.

" Some time ago Major Preſton acquainted Me, that the junction of
" Tondeman, Maravar, and Nalcooty, was highly neceſſary, on account
" of the expedition againſt Tinnevelly, and that I ſhould ſend for them.
" I accordingly ſent for Tondeman, by agreeing to pay the batta. As to
" *Maravar and Nalcooty*, They did *not chuſe* to come hither for theſe *forty*

or

I. " or *fifty years*, or from the *time of Gentoo Rajah*; but I prevailed on " Them."

This is an expreſs acknowledgment, that for forty or fifty years before, the Maravar and the Nalcooty man had not not been dependent on Tritchinopoly. By what right then does the Nabob now pretend, that They are dependent on him; or that the Rajah, by attacking Them, had violated the Treaty of 1762?

I.

Extracts of Minutes of Conſultation, relative to the Diſmiſſion of Mr. John Mac Pherſon.

Fort St. George, Minutes of Conſultation, 22d January, 1776.

" The Right Honourable the Preſident acquaints the Board, that a Paper " unſought for, and unſolicited, had been put into his hand; that there was " no ſignature affixed to it, but that it contained matter of ſo dangerous a " tendency to the intereſts of the Company, that He has thought it expedi- " ent to lay it before them.

" Whereupon the paper, as delivered in by the Preſident, is read, as fol- " loweth:

A ſhort Memorial.

" Services rendered to his highneſs the Nabob of the Carnatic, Walaujau, " &c. &c. whom he ſent upon a ſecret commiſſion to his Majeſty's firſt " Miniſter of ſtate, 1767.

" The object of this commiſſion was, to procure relief from the oppreſ- " ſions under which the Nabob was labouring, though in alliance with Great " Britain. It was neceſſary the commiſſion ſhould be ſecret, as well as the " powers to execute it, unconfined, for ſeveral reaſons.

" To procure the wiſhed for relief, the means to be employed were, if poſ- " ſible, to raiſe in the breaſt of the Prime Miniſter, a favourable reſpect for " the Nabob; then to lay before him, not in the mode of direct complaint, " of which he might avail himſelf againſt the Company, the diſtreſs of the " Prince; likewiſe to ſhew the advantage which would ariſe to the ſtate, from " granting him the proper protection, and ſupporting him in the rights of " his alliance.

" 1ſt. Upon

" 1ſt. Upon my arrival at the court of Britain, towards the latter end of the " year 1768, I found two important changes had happened in adminiſtration; " the Earl of Chatham had retired in ſuch a manner from power, as convinced " the moſt intelligent upon thoſe ſubjects, that there was little proſpect of his " ever again poſſeſſing a lead in adminiſtration; the Earl of Shelburne had " been *diſmiſſed* at the inſtigation of the Duke of Grafton, from the office of " Secretary of State. Theſe changes, however unexpected, did not diſcou- " rage my reſolution of ſupporting the cauſe of the Nabob. Whoever had " the favour of the Sovereign, it was my buſineſs to intereſt him in the ſupport " of *my employer:* but fortunately, the favourite and Miniſter was a perſonage " of the firſt diſtinction, of the nobleſt and moſt ſteady principles; every con- " ſideration pointed out his Grace, as the member of the Britiſh empire, " whoſe friendſhip and ſupport, *next to thoſe of the Sovereign*, were the moſt " deſirable to the cauſe of the Nabob; but above all, the conſideration of his " being at the head of affairs, rendered it neceſſary to apply to the Duke of " Grafton.

" I accordingly obtained, from my patron and friend, the Earl of War- " wick, a letter of introduction to his Grace. With this letter, which declar- " ed, from his Lordſhip's intimate knowledge of me, that a perfect depen- " dence might be made upon my honour and judgment, I waited upon his " Grace, and firſt preſented him with a general ſtate of India, and a plan, by " which the concerns of that country might be turned to the public advantage, " and which has ſince been partly adopted.

" This plan I drew out, and preſented, with a view of diſcovering his " Grace's ſentiments before I was explicit; the conſequence was favourable; " I ſignified in ſome degree my commiſſions, and on the 8th of December, I " received a letter from his Grace to wait of him.

" It was unneceſſary to act with further reſerve, his Grace ſpoke ſo feeling- " ly of the oppreſſion under which the Princes of India laboured, from the " uſurped authority of the commercial ſubjects of the ſtate.

" I then expatiated upon the ſuperior merits of the Nabob; ſhewed that he " was the perſon to whom Britain owed the riſe of her power in India, that " his attachment, and unſullied honour, to the Engliſh, were unparalleled; " I then dwelt upon his perſonal merits, as a ſtateſman and gentleman, and " ſhewed that, though he had aſſurances of protection under the Sovereign's " hand, he was treated with indignity, and even tyranny.

" The letter and credential preſents were then preſented: the anſwer of the " Duke of Grafton, did honour to the miniſter of the beſt of Kings, and " the firſt of nations."

" SIR,

" It is my ſincere diſpoſition, that the Nabob ſhould have every ſupport " that is conſiſtent with the power and intereſts of the crown to give. I " will gladly receive from you every propoſal upon that ſubject, and warm- " ly repreſent them to my Sovereign, and I deſire you to believe, that the " Nabob's intereſt runs no riſque from my want of caution; if you write " him, inform him of my wiſhes for his proſperity, and explain to him, " that I will not accept his preſents, however great my reſpect for him is; " I will have no return for the juſt regard I owe him as a man, but my " own ſenſibility. It is from my fidelity to my maſter, and duty to my " country, that I will only ſerve him as miniſter."

" Overwhelmed with the nobleneſs of this anſwer, I took up the preſents, " and offered them, in the name of the Nabob, to his Grace's Secretary, Mr. " Bradſhaw; upon which Mr. Bradſhaw ſaid,"

" Sir, were it my power to ſhew my reſpect for the Prince you ſerve with " ſuch affectionate zeal, he ſhould have every proof of it: you ſeem to " merit my regard; but you will forfeit it, if you inſiſt upon my diſgracing " the example of the Duke of Grafton."

" I cannot deſcribe what I felt upon this occaſion. Upon reflecting, I thought " it would be difficult to perſuade my employer, that men who would *not re-* " *ceive his preſents*, had any *ſerious* intentions to ſerve him. I likewiſe ap- " prehended, that being without any proofs of having inſiſted upon their " being received, my want of perſuaſion would be found fault with. Upon my " making theſe objections, the Secretary ſaid,

" From the confidence the Nabob has placed in you, any repreſentation you " are pleaſed to make him will convince him: but we do not wiſh him to " judge of things from their repreſentation, but from their event; if he will " find his cauſe eſpouſed here, and the conſequent effects in his ſituation, " you will have leſs difficulty in perſuading him, that the miniſter can " be his friend without receiving his preſents." " This paſſed at a ſubſequent " interview, to which I was appointed by a letter from his Grace, on the " 20th of January, 1769."

" 2d. Having

" 2d. Having repreſented the Nabob's diſtreſs, and the oppreſſions under " which he laboured, in the moſt cautious manner, to his Grace, I availed myſelf " of the diſputes which ſubſiſted, or were rather commencing, between his " Grace, as firſt Lord of the Treaſury, and the India Directors, to enforce the " propriety of ſupporting the Nabob: this diſpute was about the territorial " acquiſitions of the Company. His Grace was going to refer the deciſion of " this queſtion to Parliament; I ſeized the opportunity: but it is now unne- " ceſſary to be explicit upon this ſubject. The Nabob may inform himſelf of " my arguments, by looking to the Memorial, No. 2, now in his poſſeſſion. " I can only upon this head refer to the atteſtation of the Miniſter, *and ſpirit* " *of my writings*, which had always this uſeful tendency to the Nabob's in- " tereſt; they ſhewed that the firm ſupport of his Highneſs, in the rights of " his guaranteement by the crown, was the beſt reſtraint which government " had upon the uſurpations of the ſervants of a certain Company.

" The Nabob will likewiſe be pleaſed to inform himſelf, whether there was " ever any public mention made of his guaranteement, by article the 11th of " the treaty of Paris, prior to my applications for him in England: *I remember* " *none.*

" 3d. The cautious manner in which I preſented the Nabob's application to " the Duke of Grafton in his miniſterial character; my prefatory addreſs to " thoſe applications was in theſe words:

TO HIS GRACE, and &c. &c. &c.

" It is not ſolely in your character, of firſt Miniſter of the Britiſh empire, " that your Grace is expected to receive theſe applications, in favour of the " Nabob; they are likewiſe addreſſed to your Grace, as the perſonage, whoſe " rank, greatneſs, and liberality of mind, render you the moſt worthy of re- " ceiving the addreſs of Princes, who are allied to your nation; as your zeal " and influence in the ſervice of your country, and *ſenſibility of the rights of* " *mankind*, render your Grace the moſt capable of preſerving thoſe alliances, " to the mutual advantage of the ſtate, and the Princes on whom they are " beſtowed.

" From the tenor of my applications, and repreſentations of the Na- " bob's merits, I will venture to ſay, that I have obtained him the *friend-* " *ſhip and eſteem* of his Grace; of this the Nabob, I hope, is not inſenſible.

" 4th. The ſteps I took at my own propoſed expence, to bring about an " act of Parliament, limiting the power of the Company's ſervants, and " making it a crime in them againſt the ſtate, to interfere with the govern- " ment and ſucceſſion of the India Princes, in treaty with the Company; and

" my endeavour to make this act particularly relative to the Nabob and " his proſperity.

" A copy of my propoſal to this purpoſe, accepted by the Secretary, of my " correction, that he might afterwards lay it before Lord North and Mr. Dy- " ſon, is now in the hands of the Nabob here. His Highneſs will ſee, that I " ſtipulated to be at the expences of the act, &c. *out of my pocket:* the " utility of it he will, I hope, be ſenſible of.

" 5th. The manner in which I executed the Nabob's firſt and grand in- " junction to me; his deſire of lending a capital of *ſeventy lacks of rupees* to the " public, at the low intereſt of two *per cent.* The words of my propoſal " upon this ſubject to his Grace, as firſt Lord of his Majeſty's Treaſury, as " follows:

" Propoſal. The Nabob, from his knowledge of the ſecurity of the Britiſh " funds, the precarious tenure of pecuniary property in India, and his deſire " of providing for his youngeſt children, propoſes to inveſt a capital of ſe- " venty lacks of rupees, in any of the national ſtocks of Britain, *as the Mi-* " *niſter would direct him:* the money would be remitted to Europe, in three " annual payments; on receipt of theſe ſums, obligations drawn up ſo, that " the Nabob might be ſecure, his property ſhould be remitted to him.

" If the foregoing propoſal ſhould not be agreeable, the Nabob would lend " the ſame, or a greater capital, to the Treaſury, as a pledge of his fidelity " towards, and truſt in, the Britiſh ſtate.

" It is impoſſible for me to expreſs the noble and reſpectable idea, which " this confidential propoſal gave of the Nabob to the Miniſter.

" My ſubſequent and frequent interviews with the Secretary of the Trea- " ſury, Mr. Bradſhaw, as appears by his letters, which are in the order of their " dates; in 1769, May 16, ditto 30, June 17, July 7, Sept. 27, ditto 30, " Oct. 19, Nov. 17; in 1770, Jan. 13, Feb. 9, &c. &c. &c. Theſe in- " terviews were all to advance the Nabob's intereſt. I cannot recapitulate the " intereſting ſubjects of them here; they might afford ſubject for a volume; " they are not now ſo material, ſince the object ſought in *confidence* is obtain- " ed: his Majeſty has been pleaſed to grant the ſupport.

" 6th. My going to Sir John Lindſay, at his houſe in Bentinck-ſtreet, at " the time he was getting his ſecret commiſſion, and my recommending to him, " then and there after by letter, in a warm manner, to ſupport the Nabob; " my urging him to wait of the Duke of Grafton, to get a more enlarged

" commiſſion.

"commiſſion. Sir John Lindſay's anſwer to me upon this occaſion, was much "in the ſtile of a gentleman and miniſter. He ſaid," "he would diſintereſtedly "ſupport the Nabob, according to his powers from his maſter; that his "commiſſion came immediately through Lord Weymouth, the Secretary "of State, and that he would wait on the Duke of Grafton, out of com- "pliment due to the Miniſter." I.

"This might be one cauſe, why the Duke ſaid only to him, when he did "wait, *Take care the Servants of the company do not make war, to the prejudice "of the ſtate and its allies, for their own emolument.* Sir John, will, I hope, "atteſt for me here, how I wanted him to be preſent, at the account I gave "the Nabob, of the diſcharge of my commiſſion: his reaſons were *miniſterial* "for not being preſent.

"To this I will add, the ſteps I took in London, to procure the Nabob a "ſecurity againſt the Superviſors, by endeavouring to find out Mr. Vanſittart's "intention under his own hand; this I did in a manner I cannot *publickly* "explain; Mr. Vanſittart's letter will ſhew this, and the uſe to which I "turned it for the Nabob.

"7th. The friends I intereſted in the Nabob's proſperity, (beſides thoſe "of the Miniſtry I addreſſed) and that without diſcovering to them my com- "miſſion; thoſe friends I intereſted for the Nabob, for fear of a change in "adminiſtration, the chief of them is the Earl of Shelburne, whom I found "very inquiſitive in his converſation about the affairs of the Carnatic, as may "appear by a letter with which I was honoured by his Lordſhip. I wrote his "Lordſhip over land, from the Malabar coaſt, after receipts of my charge "from the Nabob; but he was out of the Miniſtry, upon my arrival in Eng- "land, and violently in oppoſition. I never aſked, whether he received my "letter, though I believe he did, for he judged me to be in the Nabob's in- "tereſts: I could not explain any thing to his Lordſhip; but at his requeſt, "ſent him the pamphlets about the Nabob's affairs, eſpecially that, where it "was propoſed to raiſe the Nabob to the Muſnud of the Decan. You ſee, ſaid "his Lordſhip, how attentive I am to theſe ſubjects.

"I requeſt your Lordſhip to continue ſo," "was my anſwer; this paſſed "when I took leave. He ſpoke well of the Nabob; and told me, he "had preſented *the fine diamond ring by Mr. Palk to his Majeſty.*

The

I. "The Earl of Warwick, Lord Greville, &c. The friendſhip of the Earl "of Warwick is ſo diſintereſted, that he forbids any return of preſents *to them.* "I might add many other reſpectable names, but circumſtances forbid.

"8th. My publications for a year and a half in favour of the Nabob. "The aim of theſe publications was to intereſt, not Miniſters and Directors "alone, in his favour, but the whole Britiſh nation. See the letters in the "Public Advertiſer ſigned from [and the letters dated] Arlington-ſtreet, "where the miniſter lived.

"In theſe publications, I proclaimed the *royal and miniſterial* determination "of ſupporting the Nabob, eſpecially againſt any unjuſt debts that might be "brought againſt him, for the expences of the late war; let thoſe eſſays ſpeak "for themſelves: but I will venture to aſſert, that, relative to the expences "of the war, I have rendered a ſignal ſervice to the Nabob.

"But from all my publications in favour of the Nabob, I muſt diſtinguiſh "the *character* and print of him, which I have publiſhed in Major Dowe's "Hiſtory, 2d edition, and the article I got inſerted in the ſame hiſtory, vin- "dicating the Nabob's father Anveruldeen Cawn, from a charge the hiſtorian "had fixed upon him, that of murdering his predeceſſor Abdalla.

Copies of his hiſtory, ſo printed at a great expence, were put in the hands of the Miniſtry, with what related to the Nabob, in RED CHARACTERS.

"The cauſe of this publication, in ſupport of the Nabob's honour, was a "ſuſpicion that his enemies were whiſpering againſt his fidelity to the Engliſh, "upon the arrival of the Dutton (1769) Indiaman, from India, in December, "which event detained me half a year longer at the court of London. It was "upon this occaſion, I addreſſed the *authorative* letter, in ſupport of the "Nabob, to the Superviſors, in the Public Advertiſer.

"A very effectual, though more general ſervice, that thoſe publications "rendered from the firſt to the Nabob, was the reſtraint they occaſioned at "the India-houſe, and the lights they gave the able attentive Secretary Mr. "Wood; this a perſon of his honour will admit.

"9th. That I returned to India, (*c*) endured a moſt perilous voyage, *to* "*render my negotiation effectual to the Nabob's intereſt*, not to ſolicit rewards "and expences, which I might have had better, perhaps, remitted to me in "England.

(*c*) In the ſervice of the Company.

"But

"But above all, that I have ſpent the greater part of my fortune, and four I.
"years of the moſt intereſting period of my life, in rendering theſe ſervices,
"and others, which I can only explain in converſations to the Nabob.

"In anſwer to this memorial, thoſe who attend ſolely to the Nabob's imme-
"diate convenience, will aſk, what proofs have you brought of thoſe ſervices?

"This is a queſtion which the Nabob himſelf will be cautious of putting,
"but the anſwer would be no embaraſſment.

"The event of the negociation, my honour unforfeited, and in which the
"truſt and confidence were put, in the time of the Nabob's diſtreſs. The
"letters under the hands and ſeals of the Duke of Grafton, and the Secretary
"of the Treaſury, atteſting to that honour; other letters from the Nabob's
"friends; my publications; the particulars of this memorial; my requeſt at
"my arrival here, that his Majeſty's Miniſter ſhould be preſent at the account
"I gave of my negociation, my reading, and earneſt deſire, to give the Na-
"bob, under my hand and ſeal, this memorial of a ſecret negociation, with-
"out receiving the expences I incurred, and the rewards promiſed, for effect-
"ing the buſineſs I undertook.

"What other proofs are wanted? If there are any more wanted, they muſt
"be obtained by command of his Majeſty to his Miniſtry; the negociation
"becomes then a public one: I have in that event, the happineſs to feel, that
"I have done my duty, as a man of honour and fidelity to the truſt repoſed
"in me, by the Nabob, as a faithful ſubject to his Majeſty.

"The only bonds I had for the expences that I was to incur, and my pro-
"poſed ſervices, were the honour and gratitude of the Nabob, which will ne-
"ver be forfeited to his moſt faithful ſervant.

* * *

"At the deſire of the Preſident, Mr. Mac Pherſon is then called before the
"board, and upon being aſked, whether or not he is the author of it—the
"ſame being firſt read to him—he replies," "That it is impoſſible for him
"to give a preciſe anſwer to that queſtion, the paper being neither wrote in
"his hand, nor ſigned by him, nor does the Preſident inform him, that
"he has received it from any authority. It is a paper of conſiderable
"length, and refers to tranſactions, previous to his being in the Compa-
"ny's ſervice."

"Mr. Mac Pherſon is then ordered to withdraw."

Extract

I. *Extract of the Minutes of Consultation, 23d January, 1776.*

The right honourable the President having given time to consider the subject of what passed in yesterday's consultation, at which Mr. Mac Pherson, when sent for before the board, and asked if he was the author of the memorial then read to him, in an evasive manner replied, "that he could not "give a precise answer, that it *was not written in his hand* nor *signed by* "*him*, and that it referred to transactions *before* he was in the Company's "service."

The President observes to the Board, that a person holding such principles, and being concerned in such transactions, who at the same time should apply the be appointed into the service of that community, whom He was endeavouring to destroy, was, instead of an extenuation, the highest aggravation, and that Mr. Mac Pherson's reply is a clear proof, not only that He is the author, but that he still holds the same principles, unfaithful to the Company and ruinous to their interest, and is therefore a very improper person to remain in their service; on which account He strongly recommends to the Board, that John Mac Pherson be dismissed from the Company's service; which instance of condign punishment He has great reason to think will tend very much to bring the affairs of the Company to order.

Carried in the affirmative by a majority of the Board 9 to 2.

Messrs. Stratton, Brooke, Jourdan, and Mackay, deliver in the following minutes:

"We assent to the motion of the Right Honourable President. We own "We are satisfied that Mr. Mac Pherson is the author of the paper which "was delivered at the Board by the President, and read to Mr. Mac Pher-"son; because We think a man of the intriguing disposition, which that "paper shews Mr. Mac Pherson to be, is very unfit to be employed as a "servant of the Company: but more especially, because We believe Mr. "Mac Pherson has been concerned in the intrigues which the greater part "of the Board must be sensible have lately been carried on at the Nabob's "Durbar to the detriment of the Company's service, and which may have "impeded the execution of their late orders."

"We think that the peculiar circumstances of the case, and the present "critical situation of affairs, not only render such an example necessary, "but justify the manner of doing it. Nevertheless We are fully and clearly "of opinion, that in general when a charge may be made against any ser-"vant of the Company, the mode prescribed in the 20th article of their

"printed

" printed regulations to Bengal, bearing date ought to
" be ſtrictly adhered to, nor ever deviated from, but when ſome particu-
" lar emergency may require an immediate example.

" Signed, " George Stratton, " Francis Jourdan,
" Henry Brooke, " George Mackay."

Mr. Stratton's Additional Minute.

" Mr. Stratton ſubſcribes to every part of the foregoing minute, except
" referring to the 20th paragraph of the printed Inſtructions; for He does
" not look on them as any ways binding on Us, notwithſtanding which
" He is of opinion, that in caſes where a charge is wanted to be proved a
" ſufficient time ſhould be given to the party to make his defence. In
" the caſe of Mr. Mac Pherſon this does not appear to Mr. Stratton any
" ways neceſſary; for had not Mr. Mac Pherſon been the author of the
" paper, He was at full liberty to ſay ſo, when called upon; but as his
" anſwer implies, that He was the author, Mr. Stratton therefore gave his
" aſſent to the reſolution taken by the majority of the Board."

Signed, GEO. STRATTON.

General Sir Robert Fletcher deſires that his opinion may be entered as followeth:

" Sir Robert Fletcher cannot conſent to the diſmiſſion of Mr. Mac
" Pherſon, becauſe He thinks the caſe of Mr. Mac Pherſon comes within
" the 20th article of the Companys' Inſtructions, a mode of proceeding
" which the Board has not obſerved."

Signed, ROBERT FLETCHER.

Mr. Palmer diſſents from the reſolution of the majority.

" Although Mr. Palmer thinks Mr. Mac Pherſon's conduct deſerving of
" cenſure, yet He cannot but diſſent from the opinion of the Board in diſ-
" miſſing Him the ſervice, as ſo great a ſpace of time has elapſed ſince the
" time of the tranſactions of complaint againſt Him; and that at the time
" the circumſtances did happen Mr. Mac Pherſon was not a ſervant of the
" Company."

Signed ARCHDALE PALMER.

The following letter being wrote and approved, the Secretary is ordered to ſend it to Mr. Mac Pherſon.

No. 1.

To Mr. John Mac Pherſon,

"SIR,

"I am commanded by the Right Honourable the Preſident and Council "to acquaint You, that they have thought proper to diſmiſs You from "the ſervice of the Eaſt India Company, and You are hereby diſmiſſed ac- "cordingly."

Dated in Fort St. George the 23d January, 1776.

By order of the Preſident and Council;

Signed R. SULLIVAN, Secretary.

N. B. This conſultation is ſigned,

Pigot,	Claud Ruſſell,
George Stratton,	A. Dalrymple,
Robert Fletcher,	J. M. Stone,
George Dawſon,	Archdale Palmer,
Henry Brooke,	Francis Jourdan.

K.

Account of Countries and Jewels which were ſold and mortgaged to the Dutch by the Rajah of Tanjore, including Nagore.

	Pagodas.
In 1181 of the Phaſali, when Omdat ul Omrah came to Tanjore, jewels were mortgaged for a ſum of money to pay my troops, amounting to — — —	80,000
Of this ſum a part was given to the troops, and the remainder was given to the Nabob.	
To make up the firſt ſum, I at that time ſtipulated ſhould be paid to Omdat ul Omrah, I mortgaged to Coletapa Moodally ſome jewels, together with ſome veſſels of gold and ſilver, and obtained from Him a ſum of money, which I paid to the Nabob.—To diſcharge the debt due to Comera*, I ſold ſome gold and ſilver veſſels, and diſcharged part of the debt due to Him.—As to the remaining balance of that debt, I mortgaged the jewels He had in his poſſeſſion to the people of Negapatam, and raiſed a ſum of money, with which I diſcharged it.	
The ſum thus raiſed amounted to — — —	100,000
Carried over — — —	180,000

Thus

* Alias Coletapa Moodally.

X.

	Pagodas.
Brought over — — —	180,000

Thus the ſum borrowed at two different times from the people at Negapatam amounted to 180,000 Pagodas, and the value of the jewels depoſited with them as a mortgage, amounted to five lacks of Pagodas.

Being at that time in diſtreſs, I was under the neceſſity to receive this ſmall ſum of 180,000 Pagodas for a depoſit worth five lacks, all of which the Nabob took away, after He got poſſeſſion of the country.

The ſums of money received on account of different diſtricts are as follow;

	Pagodas.	
I ſold Kelour Paraganney for — —	360,000	
I ſold Nagore for — — —	75,000	
I ſold Tripundy Machanum for — —	24,000	
	459,000	
I ſold the annual peſcaſh of 5000 chacres for	29,200	
I ſold the annual peſcaſh of three elephants from the Dutch for — — —	30,000	
		518,200
Pagodas —		698,200

The ſum of five lacks eighteen thouſand two hundred pagodas.—Of this ſum the people at Negapatam paid Me a part only, and the remainder continued due by them at the time Ameer ul Omrah took my kingdom, in the year of the Phaſali 1183, and they have never paid that balance, nor have they ſettled their accounts. Part of the money I received was given to the Nabob, and part was given to my people; the remainder continued in the country in ready money, and was carried away by Ameer ul Omrah, with the reſt of my effects.

L. My reaſons for diſpoſing of the above countries were as follow. When Omdat ul Omrah firſt came and attacked my country, and forced my conſent to pay Him fifty lacks of rupees, I gave ſome part of that ſum in ready money, and that he might receive the remainder in the ſpace of two years, He made me mortgage to Him a part of my country: in the countries thus mortgaged, He ſtationed his own people, and made them collect the revenues; but having declared, that He could not by this means receive his money in the time limited, and having threatened Me with the conſequences of not paying it, to make up the deficiency that might be in theſe mortgages, I gave part of my country as a mortgage to the Negapatam people, upon which I received a loan from them, and thus paid the whole amount of what was due to the Nabob, together with the ſum of fifty lacks of rupees ſtipulated. I paid the Nabob the peſcaſh for two years; by this mens I had no money to pay my people, or to anſwer my own expences. When I was labouring under theſe various difficulties, the Nabob thought it a proper time to invade my country, and therefore ſent his ſecond ſon Madar ul Mulk* with an army for that purpoſe. As I was in diſtreſs for money to give my people, and as the Negapatam people had failed of their engagements, I determined to ſell theſe diſtricts to them; for when I endeavoured to borrow money at Madraſs, the Nabob prevented the people there from lending it. It was therefore my misfortune to be obliged to borrow money from the Dutch, and, as the laſt reſource, to diſpoſe of my country.

Tranſlated from accounts ſent hither by the Rajah.

WILLIAM ROSS.

L.

Account of Effects carried off by the Nabob from the Tanjore Conntry, and of Aſſignments given by him thereon.

Account of ſundry effects which my anceſtors, who are now in Heaven, have been procuring from the time of Ecojee Rajah, being about a century paſt, and which were forcibly carried away by the Nabob.

	Pagodas.
4000 horſes, being on an average worth 200 pagodas each	800,000
Saddles,	

* Alias Ameer ul Omrah.

	Pagodas. L.
Brought over — — —	800,000
Saddles, bridles, &c. for the above horſes, in which are inclued thoſe for my own uſe — —	60,000
140 Elephants, worth on average 1500 pagodas each —	210,000
Accoutrements for the above mentioned elephants, conſiſting of clothes, caſtles, chains, gold chains, bells, &c. &c.	20,000
500 Palankeen ſhells made of ivory, &c. in which thoſe for my own uſe are included, amounting on an average to 100 padogas each — — — —	50,000
Appendages, ſuch as pingerees, bedding, pillows, bulkers, curtains, ornaments, &c. — — —	25,000
200 Hackries, amounting on an average to 30 pagodas each	6,000
2 Ivory hackries for our own uſe — — —	1,000
Bulkers and other neceſſaries for the hackries — —	3,000
200 Camels, worth on an average 100 pagodas each —	20,000

An Account of Cows taken, worth 10 *Pagodas each.*

100	Guzerat cows
1000	of a larger ſpecies
8000	Country cattle
1000	Buffaloes of different kinds
11,000, which, at 10 pagodas each, amount to — —	110,000

An Account of Bullocks taken, worth 10 *Pagodas each.*

500	Guzerat carriage Bullocks
500	Bullocks of a larger ſort
2000	Country Carriage Bullocks
3000 Bullocks, at 10 pagodas each amount to — —	30,000
Carried over, — — —	1,335,000

Arms

	Pagodas.
Brought over, — — —	1,335,000
Arms and accoutrements, conſiſting of the following articles, ſwords with even blades, hammers with ſpikes, ſhort ſabres, long ſwords, knives, creaſes, lances, ſhields, pikes, ſcabbards, ferrils of different metals, with bows, arrows, &c.	200,000
20,000 Muſquets, worth on an average 3 pagodas each,	60,000
Gingal pieces of different ſizes, rockets, &c. —	15,000
200 guns, great and ſmall of different metals, worth upon an average 750 pagodas each, — —	150,000
Braſs pots and veſſels of different ſizes for dreſſing proviſions, and for other uſes, together with a quantity of braſs metal,	30,000
Tents, tent-poles, tent-walls, curtains, carpets of different ſizes, &c. &c. — — —	25,000
Furniture made of timber and ivory, cots of different ſhapes, chairs, cheſts, ſtools, and ſome China Furniture, amounting to, — — — —	20,000
Iron utenſils of different ſizes, ſuch as hatchets, chizels, mamooties, chains, bells for cattle, armour, helmets, locks, &c.	25,000
Snuff-boxes, boxes for toilettes, muſical inſtruments, looking-glaſſes, Chineſe figures, candleſticks, candles, &c.	30,000
Medicines of different ſorts, the names of ſome of them are mentioned, and the compoſitions coſt a great deal of money,	10,000
Enſigns and flags of different ſorts, ſome of them made of gold and reſembling the heads of alligators, and other fiſhes, together with white umbrellas, hair fans, ornaments for horſes, fans, &c. &c.	10,000
Proviſions.—Fine paddy, rice, wheat, and other grains; ghee, ſugar, tobacco, oil, &c. &c. &c.	200,000
Carried over,	2,110,000

Cloaths.

	Pagodas.	L.
Brought over,	2,110,000	
Cloaths.—Shauls, kingcobs, velvets, cloth, turbans, gold cloths, and a great quantity of other wearing apparel, together with my own wardrobe, altogether amounting to	1,000,000	
Jewels, conſiſting of rubies, diamonds, emeralds, cats-eyes, pearls, coral, &c.	2,500,000	
Several implements of religion, peculiar to the King, ſhree ram predaap ramah ſwamy, an anointed gold cup, golden images of the different gods, a particular ſtone brought from Banaras, near the banks of the Ganges; pots, ornaments for the images, &c. &c.	100,000	
Stores and ammunition of different ſorts,	100,000	
Gold, ſilver, ornaments, pots, and gold bars,	500,000	
Ready money,	1,200,000	
Ten lacks of the abovementioned ſum was buried by my anceſtors, for ages under-ground, and was not to be removed nor diſpoſed of in any manner, let the demands for it be ever ſo preſſing.		
Two lacks remaining in my poſſeſſion, to be uſed by Me as my neceſſities required.		
Taken from the Soucars, Merchants, Accountants, people in different employs, inhabitants of different ranks, including houſehold furniture, &c.	3,000,000	
In all, pagodas,	10,510,000	

In all one crore five lacks and ten thouſand pagodas*. This is a part of that riches which my anceſtors were ages in procuring, but as I have no proper account of the remainder, I cannot affix a value to it. The above being ſuch as was particularly under my eye, I have been able to form a ſtatement of it.

Every

* Equal to about four millions two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

L. Every place belonging to Me all over the country was plundered. If I had proper accounts of the things taken, they would be found far to exceed what I have ſtated; but the Nabob carried theſe accounts out of the country, ſo that the above is the only one I have got.

Tranſlated from accounts, ſent hither by the Rajah,

WILLIAM ROSS.

No. II.

Account of Tankas and Towjees, given by the Nabob to his Creditors and Servants in the Tanjore Country, in the Year* 1185 *of the Phaſali,* (1775 & 1776.)

In the year 1185 of the Phaſali, when the Tanjore country remained in the poſſeſſion of the Nabob; he having heard, that Lord Pigot was coming from England, made haſte to give his creditors and ſervants tankas upon that country. After Lord Pigot arrived from England, and was endeavouring to procure the reſtoration of Tanjore; he give many more tankas and towjees to Europeans and to his ſervants: the amount of theſe, and of the money ſent to Him, was chacres 5,040,685.8$\frac{7}{16}$, or ſtar pagodas 2,144,972$\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{2}$.

			Star Pagodas.
The money ſent to the Nabob, amounted to chacres,	—	108,405.$\frac{1}{2}$,3$\frac{17}{32}$	
Or ſtar pagodas,	—	—	46,130.$\frac{1}{32}$
The tankas given amounted to chacres,		3,306,981.2$\frac{1}{16}$	
Of this ſum the tankas to Europeans amounted to	—	2,479,342.$\frac{1}{2}$,3$\frac{3}{16}$	
Tankas given to other people, of which I have no particular account,		827,638,3$\frac{14}{16}$	
	In all, chacres	3,306,981.2$\frac{1}{16}$	
Or ſtar pagodas	—	—	1,407,226.

The towjees amounted to 1,625,292. chacres, fanams 7$\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{2}$ parts.

The

* *Tanka* is an order for money on account of value received in ſpecie, goods, &c. &c. *Towjee* is an order for money on account of ſalaries, wages, &c. &c.

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Brought over, — Star Pagodas, 1,453,356 $\frac{5}{12}$

The following is the Account of the particulars.

Expences of the houſhold,	—	chacres	204,120.	
Horſeman's pay (by thoſe are meant ſuch as rode their own horſes,)	—	—	53,402.7 $\frac{7}{16}$	
Allowance to dependants,	—	—	215,275.6 $\frac{14}{16}$	
Trooper's pay (by thoſe are meant ſuch as rode the Nabob's horſes,)	—	—	4,857.7 $\frac{11}{16}$	
Cavalry pay,	—	—	42,218.3 $\frac{10}{16}$	
Writers,	—	—	79,343.7 $\frac{10}{16}$	
Seapoys,	—	—	572,835.4 $\frac{4}{16}$	
Regiments,	—	—	366,565.1 $\frac{1}{16}$	
Attendants,	—	—	80,098.0 $\frac{21}{32}$	
Preſents, or Gratuities,	—	—	6,581.8 $\frac{28}{32}$	
In all, chacres,			1,625,292.7 $\frac{21}{32}$	
Or ſtar pagodas,	—	—	—	691,616.0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total, ſtar pagodas,			— —	2,144,972 $\frac{31}{32}$

The foregoing is an account of ſome part only of the tankas and towjees which were given, when Lord Pigot was uſing his influence with the Nabob to reſtore Tanjore. The Nabob, knowing that the kingdom would not continue with Him, was unbounded in his grants to Europeans and others. As the Nabob granted tankas and towjees, both before and after Lord Pigot's arrival, I have not been able to diſtinguiſh ſuch people as received them at theſe different times. As the Nabob carried away the accounts out of the country and many of them were deſtroyed by the Mutſeddies; the above ſtatement was taken from ſuch accounts as have fallen into my hands; if they are in any reſpect defective, the errors will be cleared up, when the proper accounts are examined. The Nabob continued to give tankas upon the Tanjore country, until the Dobbeer Punt arrived at Arrialoor.

The above is taken from the accounts in my poſſeſſion, tranſlated from accounts ſent hither by the Rajah.

WILLIAM ROSS.

N. B. The

M. *N. B.* The above account was transmitted from Tanjore in chacres*, which I have exchanged into pagodas, as the other is a coin little known: the different calculations are made by people well acquainted with the rates of exchange; and I have literally translated their accounts, and examined them according to the following table.

10 Tanjore Fanams make	—	—	1 chacre.
2 Chacres and $3\frac{1}{4}$ fanams, or $23\frac{1}{2}$ Tanjore fanams, make,	—	—	—	1 ſtar pagoda.

WILLIAM ROSS.

Beſides this were given to Europeans by the Nabob on the Tanjore-country, tankas to the amount of chacres 2,479,452.8$\frac{1}{4}$, or ſtar pagodas 1,055,039$\frac{1}{2}$.

M.

Letter from Colonel Stuart to Lord Pigot.

Letter from Colonel Stuart to Lord Pigot.

The Right Honourable Lord Pigot, &c.

Fort St. George, Auguſt 24, 1776.
Saturday Morning 7 o'Clock.

" My Lord,

" As I am very imperfectly informed of the ſteps, which have led *to the* " *honour conferred upon Me yeſterday*, and not thinking my Self intitled to a " ſeat in Council, as matters are at preſent circumſtanced, I hope it will " be agreeable to your Lordſhip, to allow Me this day † to peruſe the Con- " ſultations and other papers paſſed in Council on occaſion of theſe unhappy " differences. I doubt not but your Lordſhip will find this requeſt reaſon- " able; *becauſe the practice of the ſervice gives ſuch information to the perſon* " *commanding the forces, from his ſeat in Council.*

" I do not deſire to put your Lordſhip to the trouble of ordering copies " for my uſe. The Secretary need only point out to Me what is neceſſary " for My information; for I wiſh to act from information, ſo as to do My " duty to My employers according to my oath of fidelity, for the public " ſervice, and with honour to my Self.

" I truſt

* Or chuckrams.
† To-morrow had been written; was eraſed, but ſtill viſible.

" I truſt therefore your Lordſhip will be *pleaſed to agree to this requeſt*, " before I am called upon to execute any public act by authority. I have " the honour to be moſt reſpectfully,

" My Lord,

" Your Lordſhip's

" Moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

Signed, " JAMES STUART."

N.

N.

Orders from Colonel Stuart to Major Horne.

Orders from Colonel Stuart to Major Horne.

" To Major Horne, commanding the Corps of Artillery at the Mount."

" SIR,

" In conſequence of the powers veſted in Me for the public ſafety of the " ſettlement, at this alarming criſis, I have ſecured the perſon of Lord " Pigot, and have put his Lordſhip under the care of Captain Lyſaught, " in order to be delivered over to You. Theſe are therefore to order " You, Major Horne, to take the perſon of the ſaid Lord Pigot into Your " charge and cuſtody, untill You ſhall receive further orders from the le- " gal civil government, in and over this preſidency of Fort St. George, to " which, as to the Repreſentatives of the Eaſt India Company, or of their " Court of Directors, We are bound by our oath of fidelity to pay obe- " dience.

" His Lordſhip is conſtantly to be in the view of your Self, or of an " Officer under your command. But he is not permitted to carry arms, " nor to correſpond, or converſe upon matters, which in any reſpect con- " cern civil or military buſineſs; and in caſe of refuſal to conform to this " order, the letters are to be ſtopt, or the perſon diſmiſſed, with whom " ſuch converſation is held.

" It is needleſs to ſuggeſt to a perſon of your feelings, that Lord Pigot is " to be treated with every mark of attention and reſpect, ſuited to the ſitu- " ation, which the preſent exigency of affairs makes neceſſary. His " Lordſhip's family and ſervants are to be permitted to viſit and attend " Him; but the number limited at your diſcretion.

N. "These, Sir, are my orders and instructions to You, which nothing "but an order of Government, regularly signified to you, is to supercede "in any particular.

"Given under my hand at Fort St. George, this 24th August, 1776.

Signed, "JAMES STUART."

"By order of Government acting Commander in Chief of all the "forces under the presidency of Fort St. George, and also of "*the garrison within the said Fort.*"

"To Major Horne, to be delivered by C. Lysaught, who is hereby or- "dered to take an acknowledgment in writing from Major Horne, "that He has received Lord Pigot into his charge, &c."

"A true copy of the Orders delivered to Me by Captain Lysaught.

Signed, "MATH^W. HORNE."

O.

O.

General Orders, and public Proclamation, whereby Mr. Stratton, &c. have constituted themselves President and Council.

No. I.

No I.

Constitution of the usurped government.

"By George Stratton, Esq. President, Henry Brooke, Sir Robert "Fletcher, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, and "George Mackay, Esqrs. of Council of Fort St. George.

"The illegal, violent, and unconstitutional conduct of Lord Pigot, "late President of the Council, aided and assisted by Messrs. Russell, Dal- "rymple, and Stone, in breaking through the positive orders of the Com- "pany, have compelled Us, for the future welfare and preservation of "the affairs of the Company, to order Lord Pigot into arrest, and to sus- "pend from the Company's service the other three Gentlemen, until the "Company's pleasure shall be known; and George Stratton, Esq. being "the next senior servant to Lord Pigot, is, agreeable to the orders of the "Company, appointed President, and is to be obeyed as such, and all "the Officers and Soldiers upon this establishment are hereby commanded "to pay due obedience to our orders, signed by our Selves or our Secre- "tary,

" tary, We, the majority of the Council, being the only legal Repreſen- 9.
" tatives of the Company.

Signed, " George Stratton, " Archdale Palmer,
" Henry Brooke, " Francis Jourdan,
" Robert Fletcher, " George Mackay.
" Charles Floyer,

" The government having devolved upon George Stratton, Eſq. the
" honours of Second of the Coaſt are to be paid to Henry Brooke,
" Eſq.

" Colonel Stuart is to take upon Him the charge and command of the
" army, and of this garriſon, during the indiſpoſition of Sir Robert
" Fletcher, who will, notwithſtanding his illneſs, continue to act as third
" in Council.

" The Preſident and Council being, upon the report of Colonel Stuart,
" thoroughly ſatisfied with the conduct of the officers and men compoſing
" the garriſon, have empowered him to aſſure them, that they ſhall meet
" *with a proper gratification.*"

No. II. No. II.

Circular Letter.

" The violent and illegal proceedings of Lord Pigot and Meſſrs. Ruſ- Circular Let-
" ſell, Dalrymple and Stone, having obliged Us to arreſt the perſon of ter.
" Lord Pigot, and ſuſpend the other three Gentlemen, We have named
" George Stratton, Eſq. the next ſenior ſervant of the Company, Preſi-
" dent of the Council; You are therefore ordered to pay due obedience to
" Us, the majority of the Council, being the only legal Repreſentatives of
" the Company. We, &c.

" *P. S.* Encloſed is a copy of a proclamation to be publiſhed at your
" ſettlement and its dependencies."

No. III. No. III.

Proclamation.

" In the name of His Majeſty, and the Engliſh nation, from whom Proclama-
" are derived the authorities and powers of the honourable the Eaſt India tion.
" Company, our conſtituents, We, the ſubſcribing members of their Go-
" vernment of Fort St. George, and its dependencies, compoſing a ma-
" jority *of the* members *of the ſaid* Government, *and* therefore by law, and
" the

O. "the expreſs orders of the Company, being virtually the Government, "iſſue the following proclamation.

"Whereas the Right Honourable the Lord Pigot, Preſident, Claud "Ruſſell, Alexander Dalrymple, and John Maxwell Stone, Eſquires, "members of our Council, have by various arbitrary and illegal acts, at- "tempted to ſuperſede in Us the authority of the Company, and to aſ- "ſume to them Selves the powers of this government, contrary to law, "and the orders of the Company; which can be demonſtrated to every in- "dividual by the following meaſures, which they have attempted to execute, "and which are entered on the records of the Company.

"Firſt, that the ſaid Preſident *has expreſly maintained*, that He *would* "*not put queſtions*, moved by the members of the Majority, *if He did not* "*chuſe to do ſo*; that He *had a right to adjourn the Council, contrary to the* "*opinion of the Majority*, as well as that *by putting a negative to any reſolu-* "*tion* of a Majority, He can ſtop the execution of ſuch a reſolution: a "ſyſtem which proves to the meaneſt capacity, that it is replete with the "greateſt dangers to the community and expreſly contrary to the conſtitu- "tion of the government veſted in the hands of more than one member. "Thus, if an enemy invaded this ſettlement, and that Preſident choſe to "oppoſe preparations for the public defence, it is evident, that the loſs of "the ſettlement might attend ſuch powers in the hands of an ill-diſpoſed "Preſident; and further, if ſuch a ſyſtem was ſupported, and that a Pre- "ſident veſted with ſuch powers, was detected in ſacrificing the public in- "tereſt to his own, it is clear, that no meaſure of detection or puniſhment "could be carried againſt Him.

"Secondly. It had been reſolved, that Colonel Stuart ſhould be ſent "to the command of Tanjore, and inſtructions had been recommended "by the Commander in Chief; but the Preſident refuſed to put the queſ- "tion for their being taken into conſideration. The Majority of the "Council, who had before reſolved on the neceſſity of ſending Colonel "Stuart, had no other mode left, excepting ſuſpenſion, but that of en- "tering their opinions in writing, firſt, that they ought to be then conſi- "dered, and next, that they were proper and full: and the Preſident re- "fuſing to ſign them, the Majority, unwilling to come to extremities, "further gave it as their opinion, in writing, that they ſhould be ſigned "by the Secretary. This the Preſident ſaid He thought would not be a "ſufficient authority for the Secretary, and in conſequence, as the Secre- "tary did not ſeem to think it ſufficient, with the unanimous agreement "of the Majority, an order to the Secretary to ſign it, *by order of Council*

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" was written, then copied fair, and when ſigned by Meſſrs. Stratton and
" Brooke, was ſnatched by the Preſident out of Mr. Brooke's hands, and
" the very ſame inſtant, the Preſident pulled out of his pocket a charge
" againſt thoſe Gentlemen, for an intention to ſubvert the government and
" introduce anarchy, by ſigning an order to the Secretary without the con-
" currence of the Preſident and Council. It muſt here be remarked, that
" as He came from his cloſet prepared, it muſt have been his intention to
" ſeize the paper, as ſoon as it was ſigned by as many of the Majority, as
" He wanted to get rid of. On this frivolous charge, He moved the ſuſ-
" piſion of thoſe two Gentlemen, and by excluding their votes, and voting
" him Self, although He was the accuſer, by his caſting vote, He carried
" the motion; and that although it was moved to adjourn the Council,
" previous to his putting his queſtion, He would not hear it, but proceed-
" ed, and as ſoon as he had effected his deſign, He adjourned the Council,
" although the members of the Majority then ſtaid and refuſed to conſent
" to it: an attempt, which, if by law or cuſtom it could have any effect,
" muſt have virtually ſuſpended his own authority, He being but part of
" the government, which He attempted thus to ſuperſede. That He
" iſſued in public military orders, the ſaid illegal attempt, as the act of the
" Governor and Council; thereby attempting, in violation of every right
" and privilege of this conſtitutional government, to aſſume a perſonal
" power over the military.

" Thirdly, His having violently attempted to ſuperſede the whole au-
" thority of Us, and of the Commander in Chief of the army, and en-
" deavoured to compel obedience from all ſervants civil and military to
" him Self and his aſſociates, as if He and They poſſeſſed legally and
" conſtitutionally the authority inveſted by the Royal Charter, and the or-
" ders of the Company, in a Majority of the members of the govern-
" ment, which Majority, We, the ſubſcribing members, virtually and
" effectually compoſe.

" For theſe weighty reaſons, no leſs clear, than intereſting to every in-
" dividual, whether a ſervant of the Company, or under their protection:
" It is hereby *enacted* and *proclaimed*, that George Stratton, Eſq. is, ac-
" cording to the orders of the Company, Preſident of the Council and
" Governor of Fort St. George; and that the powers of Lord Pigot and
" Meſſrs. Ruſſell, Dalrymple, and Stone, ſtand annulled. It is there-
" fore ordered and proclaimed by the authority of the aforeſaid Preſident,
" and We the ſubſcribing members of Council, being the only legal Re-
" preſentatives of the Company on this coaſt, that all the ſervants, civil
" and military, do obey our orders immediately, and every ſervant failing
" in ſuch duty, is held anſwerable by their commiſſions or ſtation, in the

" ſervice

O. " ſervice of the Company: and it is further proclaimed, that all ſervants, " civil and military, ſhall be indemnified againſt any oppreſſion or diſad- " vantages They may have ſuffered, or may ſuffer, by the uſurped au- " thority of the Right Honourable Lord Pigot and his aſſociates.

Signed, " George Stratton, " Archdale Palmer,
" Henry Brooke, " Francis Jourdan,
" Robert Fletcher, " George Mackay.
" Charles Floyer,

" As it is proper, that, upon ſo intereſting a ſubject, the orders of the " Company ſhould be expreſly and literally ſet forth, We have directed " the following ſtanding orders to be annexed to this proclamation.

" Whatever ſhall be agreed upon by the Majority, ſhall be eſteemed " the order, by which each one is to act; and accordingly every indivi- " dual perſon, even the diſſenters them Selves, are to perform their parts " in the proſecution, and in ſo doing they do their duty, and muſt not be " blamed."

No. IV.

No. IV.

Notary's letter.

Copy of the Notary's Letter.

" To the Officer commanding the Main-guard, Madraſs.

" SIR,

" I am directed by George Stratton, Eſq. Sir Robert Fletcher, &c. " Gentlemen of Council of Fort St. George, whoſe names are affixed to an " atteſted copy (herewith ſent) of a letter by Me delivered this morning to " the Honourable George Lord Pigot, Preſident, &c. Claud Ruſſell, " Alexander Dalrymple, and John Maxwell Stone, Eſqrs. of Council at " Fort St. George, to ſerve the ſame upon You, of which You will " pleaſe to take notice; and am, " SIR,

" your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Madraſs, 23d Auguſt, 1776. Signed, " CHARLES BROMLEY,
" Not. Pub."

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

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